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ABSTRACT

Ten lesson plans present ways of using the periodical, "The National Observer," in social science classrooms. By providing stimulating reading, raising questions, and provoking discussion, the periodical articles are designed to expand the student's perspective on social issues. Revolving around five disciplines--political science, economics, history, sociology, and psychology--the activities are interdisciplinary in nature and focus on building student skills. Each lesson includes a copy of a "National Observer" article, an introduction, learning objectives, vocabulary, and related student activities. For example, one article shows how savings bonds do not keep up with inflation and suggests questions and activities, such as developing an investment portfolio, to better understand savings and investments. (JR)

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"The National Observer in the Social Science Class"

A Teacher's Guide

by Joseph W. Rodgers

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INTRODUCTION

The conceptual framework for the social sciences is massive, subject to change and reinterpretation. As social science teachers we seek to make students aware of the continuum of the human experience, the variety of human culture and the internal dynamics of human behavior. If the purpose of social science education is the expansion of the students' perspective on social issues, then social science courses could employ a curriculum adjunct emphasizing the general perspective. For budgetary purposes this aid would have to be inexpensive. For educational reasons it should be at once innovative, relevant and reinforcing of student reading and vocabulary skills.

The National Observer is just such an aid. Not a specialist journal, The Observer is a periodical for the generalist. Its lively, well written and informative articles encompass the full range of social science concerns. The following lesson plans are provided to demonstrate the applicability of The Observer in the social science classroom.

Although the articles herein are divided into primary topic categories, the interdisciplinary character of each will be readily apparent. Each lesson plan begins with an introduction which places the news article into an appropriate context. Vocabulary items are highlighted and followed by a series of questions. Both the vocabulary items and comprehension questions in these lesson plans demonstrate the usefulness of The Observer as an aid in building student skills. By noting certain words, students build their vocabulary, exercise context skills and learn important terms and concepts relevant to the various social science disciplines. The questions are designed to develop reading comprehension as well as enhance content acquisition. Accordingly, questions range from simple comprehension questions to those requiring application, synthesis, analysis and evaluation. The range of questions that can be developed from any one of these Observer articles also demonstrates the flexibility of this classroom resource in terms of student ability levels.

The most exciting feature of The Observer is the stimulative nature of its articles. Unlike others, this periodical does not merely pass along relevant news. Rather, it raises questions, stimulates thought and provokes discussion. Used properly, this periodical can create an atmosphere of intellectual curiosity and excitement in the classroom. Whether one teaches in a "traditional" or "open" environment this unique quality of The Observer can be harnessed.

In the following lesson plans, one will find suggested mechanisms for exploiting the stimulative nature of these articles. In some, preparatory activities are designed to heighten the students' learning. Other suggested activities include hypothesis testing, data collection and analysis exercises, simulations, role playing and valuing strategies.

Educators are professionally dedicated to pioneering better methods of teaching our difficult discipline. By incorporating The National Observer into the secondary school social science curriculum, a positive step can be taken in that direction. The following has been written to illustrate the value of this periodical as a teaching tool.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Lesson 1

"Tell Us The Price"

Prompted by the Vietnam debacle, the seemingly staggering costs of national defense and changing ideas about America's role in world affairs, the executive and legislative branches of the federal government is currently reappraising our nation's foreign policy. This is an exciting time for students of international affairs, for such a total re-examination of policy and scrutiny of commitments has not really occurred for close to thirty years. Any true re-appraisal, however, must dig beneath the tangling array of treaty obligations and go directly to what is supposedly the foundation of all foreign policy, the national interest.

According to experts in the field of international relations, a nation's foreign policy should emanate from its national interests. As George Kennan explained in his REALITIES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, a nation's foreign policy should not be conceived of as an end in itself, but only as a means to an end. The end, of course, being the national interest.

But what are America's interests and what kinds of policies and commitments would serve these interests best? Do our interests require a strong European presence, involvement in the Indian Ocean or closer ties to South America? Interviewing a number of leading senators and scholars, Mark R. Arnold found a wide spectrum of opinion on these questions. The social science teacher would find this article, "Tell us the Price," The National Observer, June 28, 1975, particularly useful. For one, it succinctly presents the viewpoints and perceptions of leading policymakers and scholars and, secondly, it raises some very important and provocative questions about United States foreign policy that would be sure to challenge and excite student interest. In addition, the article deals with a number of concepts basic to the study of international relations.

OBJECTIVE:

Students will understand those concepts basic to the study of international relations as they relate to U.S. foreign policy.

PREPARATORY ACTIVITY:

To stimulate interest, thought and discussion prior to the reading of the article, the teacher could replicate the opinion poll outlined within the article.

TERMS:

A number of specialized terms common to the study of international relations are employed in the article. These should be noted for student identification:

N.A.T.O.
Cold war
iron curtain
"fortress America"
territorial integrity bipolar
interventionism
global village
hegemony
detente
defense perimeter

VOCABULARY:

In addition to the terms noted above the following vocabulary items might be noted:

equanimity
contemplate
gradations
ideological
divergence
seceding
polarized
stalwart
mentor

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What does Hans Morgenthau believe America's vital interests are? Do you agree with his perception? Do you believe that existing U. S. foreign policy serves these interests? Can you suggest policies that would better serve our interests?

2. Alvin Cottrell and Richard Ullman both identify Israel as an area of vital concern to the U. S. but for different reasons. Identify the reasoning both employ. With whom do you agree? Should policy have a moral basis or should it be strictly pragmatic?

3. Why do most policymakers view South Korea as an area of vital concern to the U. S.?

4. What countries, according to Zbigniew Brzezinski, should be considered vitally important to the U. S.? Upon what has he based his choices? Do you agree with his conception of vital interests?

5. What does Senator Dick Clark consider to be possibly the greatest future threat to peace? Does the fact that India now has nuclear weapons lend support to his viewpoint?

B. For further study in this area, using this article as a basis, the following activities may be employed:

1. Students could be assigned world regions for which they would be responsible to document past and current U. S. policy and commitments and advocate policy, objectives and commitments for the future.

2. Using a map of the world, students could outline America's commitments (through alliances, defense pacts and etc.).

3. Students could design and conduct a public opinion poll to assess current attitudes on United States' interests and foreign policy.

'Tell Us the Price'

By Merk R. Arnold

"THE SECURITY of West Berlin remains a vital interest of the United States," Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told Berliners on May 21. The U.S. commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) "is vital to American security and well-being," President Ford said upon leaving for Europe on May 28. The loss of Vietnam, Cambodia, or any other Asian nation "could vitally affect the national security of the United States," the President said at a news conference on March 17.

All equally vital? Obviously, no. The nation withstood the loss of Vietnam and Cambodia with considerably more equanimity than it might contemplate the loss of, say, Western Europe. So the term "vital interest" appears to cover gradations of commitment that tend to be neglected when the term itself is invoked to justify a course of action—whether it be an American military presence in Europe or an emergency-aid request from a crumbling Asian government. Media commentators of widely varying political and ideological hue also toss these words around—along with the phrases "true" interests and "national" interests—and for the same reasons.

What are the nation's real vital interests in the world today? What commitments actually enhance U.S. security, and which are but "irrelevant" relics of earlier Cold War and World War II eras?

Hardly easy questions. But the Senate spent two days debating them recently as a backdrop to its deliberations on the military-hardware budget. If the debate—the first of its kind in years—was not as illuminating as its sponsors had hoped, it nevertheless raised some noteworthy issues. "It seems to me," commented Republican Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, "we should adjust our defense policies to serve our foreign policy rather than vice versa." The discussion pitted hawks such as Arizona's Barry Goldwater against doves such as Massachusetts' Edward Kennedy. In some ways it marked a milestone in the post-Indochina foreign-policy reassessment, which has at its core the redefinition of America's vital world interests. That redefinition is tempered by an awareness that many Americans, wary after Vietnam, are implicitly saying to policy makers, "Tell us the price."

A review of the debate, supplemented by talks with political scientists and historians, reveals a wide divergence of opinion as to what interests remain vital to U.S. security. Is maintenance of a non-Communist Portugal vital? Yes, says North Carolina's Sen. Jesse Helms; a hostile Portuguese government would have "tragic consequences" for U.S. and European defenses. Not at all, says the Brookings Institution's Seyom Brown: "A Communist Portugal would complicate the NATO structure, but we could easily live with the results."

Korea? Historian Hans Morgenthau argues that Korea affects U.S. world interests only marginally. But veteran Senate dove Thomas Eagleton of Missouri insists that Korea's loss would have a "destabilizing effect" throughout Asia.

U.S. foreign policy is undergoing its severest reappraisal since the Communists dropped their Iron Curtain across Europe almost 30 years ago. That event forced a dramatic shift in U.S. assumptions about the postwar world.

Yet certain basic tenets remain constant. From the Senate debate emerged a general recognition that the United States, in withdrawing from Indochina, was not seceding from world responsibilities. A new U.S. role, suggested New Hampshire Democrat Thomas J. McIntyre, should "fall somewhere between the polarized conception of a policeman of the world on the one hand and a withdrawal to Fortress America on the other."

Hawks and doves both said the nation must do a better job of sorting out its critical from its noncritical interests. And almost no one defended the present string of defense pacts. These pacts commit the nation to defending the territorial integrity of 43 nations and their possessions, including such obscure entities as the Pescadores Islands off the coast of Formosa.

There is another reason for Congress and the Ford Administration to be concerned about redefining the nation's vital interests as well: A number of public-opinion surveys in recent years show declining public support for honoring foreign military commitments.

Shortly before Vietnam fell in April, a Gallup Poll showed that fewer than 20 per cent of Americans would support sending U.S. troops to counter a hypothetical Communist attack on Japan, India, Turkey, Taiwan, Thailand, Brazil, or Israel. Larger margins would support sending troops to West Germany (27 per cent), the Philippines (29 per cent), England (37 per cent), and Mexico (42 per cent). But of the 12 nations listed, only one drew majority support for intervention: Canada (57 per cent). And a majority would not support sending military supplies to any of the nations as an alternative to U.S. intervention.

Such findings can't help but influence Congress' reassessment of U.S. interests. Few went so far as Arizona Republican Paul J. Fannin, a Cold War stalwart, who insisted, "There is no question that the defense of all free nations is essential to our own personal security." The prevailing view was the narrower one expressed by Iowa Sen. Dick Clark, who said, "There are limits to our power and our purses, and the ability to help others is limited by the capacity of others to help themselves."

A Changed Perception

What are those limits? How do they affect the nation's vital interests? Replies historian Morgenthau, professor emeritus of City College of New York: "United States vital interests are what they have always been: safeguarding its territory and the preservation of its democratic institutions. What has changed is the perception of the role the nation must play to protect those interests." The defense of those interests, adds Morgen-

thau, "no longer requires us to oppose communism around the world, especially not in situations where changes come as a result of indigenous forces rather than through outside aggression."

A differing view comes from Harold Hinton of the Sino-Soviet Institute of George Washington University. While not counseling global interventionism, Hinton argues that U.S. interests are affected to one degree or another no matter how changes are brought about.

"In a world that increasingly resembles a global village," says Hinton, "we can't ignore what goes on in our neighborhood. We don't have to run to the defense of each victim of a mugging, and we can close our doors and forget there is crime on the streets and growing use of drugs. But we do sometimes have to venture out. And the quality of our life is affected by what we find happening when we do."

U.S. Mideast Interests

But to whose defense should the United States run? What, for example, are the vital U.S. interests in the Middle East? Alvin J. Cottrell, director of research at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic Studies, defines two:

"It is a vital interest to assure access to the oil on which our economy runs," he says. "We have a vital interest also in maintaining stability in the region, which means maintaining a counter to Soviet influence. Israel forms a buffer in this regard."

Cottrell argues that those who would deny arms shipments or U.S. technology to undemocratic Arab sheiks are misguided, so long as such actions buy U.S. influence that would otherwise be denied. "We should never let ideological considerations interfere with our protection of our vital interests," says Cottrell.

To Richard H. Ullman of the Council of Foreign Relations, Israel's integrity is a matter of vital U.S. interest for reasons having nothing to do with maintaining a power balance in the Middle East. Staking out an unabashedly moralistic view of American foreign-policy interests, he says: "The United States at least since World War II has stood in a special relationship with those societies, such as Israel, that are clearly devoted to the extension of human liberty. We have an obligation to work for their survival and political well-being. To the extent that freedom is eclipsed anywhere, we in the United States are the poorer for it."

Columbia University's Polish-born Zbigniew Brzezinski defines a vital interest as "an area whose loss would have a direct and significant impact on either the U.S. world position or that of a key ally."

By that rule, Brzezinski says, U.S. vital interests encompass "Japan and by extension South Korea; the major island nations of the Pacific, including Australia, New Zealand, and perhaps Indonesia; Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East, and, for moral reasons, Israel; and, of course, Western Europe." Brzezinski's list also includes Canada and Latin America, whose proximity to the United States makes their welfare and America's "organically connected."

Iran and Saudi Arabia are vital, says Brzezinski, because the loss of their oil would have a "direct effect on our economic stability." He adds that America could survive a cutoff of Arab oil. But he says the effect on European and Japanese allies, which depend more heavily on that oil, would be disastrous. "Their economic and possibly political and social stability would be threatened," he explains.

But why is the fate of Western Europe of vital interest to the United States? "Strictly speaking, it's not," says Seyom Brown, a senior fellow in political science at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. With the increasing range of its land- and sea-based missiles, Brown argues, the United States doesn't even need NATO for its self-preservation any more. "We could withdraw to a position of Fortress America, maintain our nuclear retaliatory ability to forestall an enemy attack, and still function as a self-directed society.

"The debate doesn't really concern vital interests at all," Brown argues, "but rather secondary interests. The question is what are the secondary interests and how far should we be prepared to go to protect them?"

An important secondary interest is to have friendly neighbors in the world, says Brown. He sees continued U.S. membership in NATO as an outgrowth of the desire to maintain and secure strong neighbors.

Another secondary interest is to be able freely to engage in trade and commerce, says Brown. "As a practical matter, you need access to the seas. Not necessarily all seas, but at least to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, our principal trade routes."

Goals vs. Costs

These objectives, in his view, define the minimum scope of U.S. interests in the world. Beyond them lie other objectives that may be considered desirable but are not necessary. "How much of a world leader do we want to be? What price in terms of a general military posture are we willing to pay to, for example, be able to travel unmolested through the Strait of Malacca [between Malaysia and Sumatra] or the Strait of Hormuz [in the Persian Gulf]?

In Brown's analysis, the importance of a non-Communist South Korea or Portugal is primarily psychological: "We could live without both easily." But, Brown quickly adds, psychological effects can be important, too, as in the example of Berlin. He explains:

"West Berlin is a classic case in which the language depicting it as vital departs from the reality. In strategic terms, there's nothing vital about possession of West Berlin; we and the Germans and everyone else could survive without the enclave. But because of the symbol we've made it, if it went the erosion of morale in Germany and throughout the Western alliance would be enormous."

How Important Is Korea?

To some, South Korea is an Asian Berlin, the acid test of U.S. determination to resist Communist aggression. Many lawmakers are disturbed by the repressionary policies of President Chung Hee Park. And the presence of U.S. combat troops close to the demilitarized zone separating South from North Korea is being criticized as constituting a dangerous trip wire. Skeptics say it guarantees instant U.S. involvement in hostilities without consideration by Congress. Nevertheless, for psychological reasons even critics of the U.S. role in Korea are having second thoughts about making any moves that could be interpreted as signaling a retreat in U.S. support of this staunch ally.

Says California Democrat Alan Cranston, who with Massachusetts' Edward M. Kennedy organized the recent Senate foreign-policy debate: "I was an advocate of cutting down on our troops in Korea until the events that accompanied the collapse in South Vietnam and Cambodia led me to feel that this is not an appropriate time to do that, since it might appear to be an invitation to the other side to move in."

The Japanese Alliance

Significantly, most supporters of the Korean commitment do not regard that nation's integrity itself as a matter of vital U.S. interest. Senator Goldwater, for example, considers South Korea's value in terms of how its loss would be interpreted in Tokyo. If South Korea were conquered, he speculated recently, Japan would be encouraged to become a nuclear power. "And if her American mentor has lost his stomach," said Goldwater, "why not?"

Japan's stability is regarded as a matter of vital American interest by doves such as Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and hawks such as Goldwater. They describe Japan as the third largest economic power in the world, a prime U.S. trading partner, a thriving democracy, and a viable counterweight to Chinese influence in Asia.

Goldwater says the aim of U.S. Far East policy should be to prevent any major power from exercising hegemony over the Pacific Basin. This view parallels Mansfield's oft-repeated injunction that the United States is not an Asian power but a Pacific power. "In time," Mansfield says, "we will have to withdraw entirely from the Asian mainland."

Detente With China

"What we are seeing in Asia," says Richard Falk of Princeton University's Center of International Studies, "is a coming to terms with China on the part of nations such as the Philippines and Thailand with which we have long had formal military alliances.

"We can wring our hands over it and worry about Communist influence. But actually it's a case of others following up the *detente* we've begun with China by forging their own detentes. And it probably contributes to regional stability in a way our presence in Asia never could."

To those who believe that the nature of the Communist challenge to U.S. interests is unchanged, Falk's interpretation is dangerous foolishness. "For us, as a global power, the hinterland is the entire free world," says North Carolina Republican Sen. Jesse Helms. "Communist influence is growing and our defense perimeter is shrinking."

But this bipolar view of the world is under challenge. First, doves such as Cranston and Kennedy argue that talk of a world-wide Communist conspiracy is outdated in light of the emergence of independent Communist powers such as North Vietnam and North Korea. Second, it is argued, preoccupation with the East-West struggle diverts attention from the emerging "North-South" struggle between the wealthy industrialized nations in the northern hemisphere and the impoverished new nations in the southern hemisphere.

An Elastic Concept

Argues Iowa's Sen. Dick Clark: "In the headlong race for more military power to face the 'threat of communism,' we should pause long enough to question whether there may ultimately be a greater threat to world peace, and thereby to our own tranquility, from the developing nations of the world—from that two-thirds of the world that is destitute, increasingly angered, malnourished, illiterate, and multiplying in population at a frightening rate."

There are, then, many U.S. vital interests in the world—or very few. It all depends on one's point of view. The term is elastic: It can be stretched to cover the globe or shrunk to conform to national boundaries.

Some political scientists avoid the term "vital interests" entirely. "An exercise in rhetoric," sniffs Princeton's Falk. "An absolutist term used to put off hard questions," declares Columbia University's Roger Hilsman. Sums up George Washington University's Hinton: "There are no vital interests, only degrees of interest. You can't draw a line across the spectrum and say those on one side are vital and those on the other are not. All interests must be measured in terms of the price we are willing to pay to guarantee them. Maybe we should talk less about vital interests and ask more about how much their defense will cost in assistance, in lives, or whatever."

Lesson 2

"Economic Boom And Bust? Humphrey Bill offers Planning As The Answer"

The introduction of a bill in Congress that is national in scope and content is always a newsworthy event, especially if the bill advocates a fundamental change in the role of the federal government. With the exception of provisions for taxation, borrowing, commerce and appropriations, the U. S. Constitution does not give the federal government any specific powers over the economy of our nation. In recent years the government has taken responsibility for the health of the U. S. economy using fiscal and monetary tools to stimulate or cool our cyclical economy. But with the exception of major national crises, the federal government has done little in the way of directly leading private enterprise.

Co-sponsored by Senators Hubert Humphrey and Jacob Javits, THE BALANCED GROWTH AND ECONOMIC PLANNING ACT OF 1975 was born of the "boom and bust" economic cycle from which our market economy cannot seem to escape. If passed this bill would give the federal government the responsibility for providing our economy with direction—an economic plan. This article, "Economic Boom and Bust? Humphrey Bill offers Planning as the Answer," The National Observer, May 24, 1975, by William J. Lanouette affords the social science teacher the opportunity to explore the role of the federal government in contemporary America.

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will discover the process through which a federal law is created.

2. Students will weigh and contrast the opinions of notable public figures and arrive at their own opinion on a sweeping piece of federal legislation.

3. Students will explore the question of the federal governments' economics role.

VOCABULARY:

At the time that this article is assigned for student reading, the following terms should be highlighted for identification:

bipartisan
lobbyist
boom-and-bust
socialism
joint committee
pejorative
erroneous
scrutinized
public sector
private sector
Nobel laureate

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What are the specific provisions of THE BALANCED GROWTH AND ECONOMIC PLANNING ACT of 1975?

2. What are the general implications of this bill for government's involvement in and responsibility for our nation's economy? How does this new role deviate from the past?

3. What kind of support and criticism has their piece of legislation already attracted?

4. Would you support this bill? Justify your support or criticism.

5. Assuming that this bill becomes law without significant revision—how would it work?

B. Using the article as a point of departure, the following activities are designed to enhance the students' knowledge of the federal lawmaking process and the interaction between the public and private sector of our economy:

1. Take THE BALANCED GROWTH AND ECONOMIC PLANNING ACT OF 1975 through the entire path it must travel to become a law. Note all of the things that could happen to it along the way.

2. Sequences of the above could be put into a role-playing or simulation strategy that would permit the student to act out the part of a supporting or opposing senator, representative or lobbyist. Committee sessions as well as floor debates could be simulated.

3. Compare and contrast the planning role of government and the administrative apparatus advocated by the Humphrey–Javits bill with its counterparts in Great Britain, Sweden, France and the U. S. S. R.

4. Because of the provocative nature of this bill it is likely that it will eventually stir a substantial amount of controversy. Students could develop an opinion poll to test and sample community feelings towards this piece of legislation. This poll could be combined with student arranged and planned interviews of community members from various economic backgrounds. The data could then be analyzed by the class and conclusions could be drawn as to community sentiment towards an expanded economic role for the federal government.

Humphrey Bill Offers Planning as the Answer

By William J. Lanouette
FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

Frequently in this capital city, profoundly important legislation is introduced with almost no notice, and that appeared to happen last week. For years economists, politicians, businessmen, and labor leaders have been fighting over who should control the economy, and how that might be done. Now a bipartisian bill, to set the ground rules for planning our economy has been introduced in Congress. It is a measure that is sure to embroil spokesmen and lobbysits of all political and economic persuasions in a long and tough debate.

Supporters of the effort to make long-range economic plans see it as the only way to control our gigantic, boom-and-bust economy. But opponents regard it as a long step toward socialism and dictatorship.

"This is the most important piece of legislation I have authored in 25 years of public service," proclaimed Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat and chairman of the Joint Economic Committee. "I say this because the legislation will fundamentally reform the Federal Government's management of economic affairs, which in turn will significantly improve the performance of the American economy. This legislation is the key to putting the nation back on the road to economic prosperity."

Voluntary Co-operation

The Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act of 1975 was cosponsored by New York Sen. Jacob Javits, the joint committee's senior Republican. "Many people are reluctant to consider the need for planning in this country because of its pejorative connotations," Javits said. "At bottom they are convinced that planning means regimentation, the loss of economic freedom, and the end of the American free-enterprise system," a view Javits dismisses as "highly erroneous."

The new planning bill would create a system that combines policy decisions by the Government agencies with voluntary co-operation by business, state, and local interests.

Long-range economic plans for the nation would be made by three new Government bodies, then scrutinized by Congress. The three would be:

- A three-member Economic Planning Board, appointed by the President and set up in the Office of the President. This board would have a division of economic information, to develop and distribute data on the economy from public and private sources.
- A Council on Economic Planning, composed of some Cabinet members and other high-ranking Federal officials.
- An Advisory Committee on Economic Planning, with four members appointed by the President, four by the Speaker of the House, and four by the President of the Senate.

Under the Humphrey-Javits proposal, the Economic Planning Board—after public hearings to gain the views of private, state, and local spokesmen—would submit a balanced-economic-growth plan to the council for its approval. The Council on Economic Planning would review the plan, possibly revise it, and submit it to the President. The Advisory Committee would help provide the board and the council with the views of the public, business, labor, and consumer groups.

Every two years, under the new bill, the President would be required to submit a Balanced Economic Growth Plan to Congress, together with the board's report. Copies would also go to governors, and other state and local officials.

Congressional Hearings

The Joint Economic Committee would then hold public hearings on the President's plan, compiling the views of each standing committee in Congress, and reports from the governors. Within 105 days after the President submits his plan, the joint committee would have to report to the House and Senate a concurrent resolution approving, disapproving, or amending all or part of the plan. Congress, in turn, would be required to act on the plan within 135 days after it is submitted by the President. If the entire plan is disapproved, the President would have to revise and resubmit it.

Supporters of the planning bill, who spoke in its favor last week, included a Nobel laureate in economics, Wassily Leontief; United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock; and industrialist J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the Cummins Engine Co. "Those who compare the functioning of the market mechanism in a free economy—the interplay of the impersonal forces of demand and supply—with the automatic operation of a gigantic electronic computer are right," Leontief said. "However, anyone who has had practical experience with large computers knows that they do break down."

"We seem to have no means for stopping inflation other than unemployment," Miller said, "and no means for eliminating unemployment other than inflation. Without taking careful look at the consequences of our combined public and private actions, we have allowed problems to multiply, swings in the economic cycle to become more erratic, and prospects for a stable economy to diminish."

"The need for long-range, democratic economic planning on a national basis has never been more urgent," Woodcock said. "We have lived too long with boom and bust. Experience has taught us that the unseen magic of the so-called free market does not work."

But critics of the plan are quick to speak out too. In a guest column for Newsweek entitled "An Economic Police State," Walter Wriston, chairman of Citicorp, warned before the bill was introduced that "the founders of our country were distrustful of the concentration of power. An attempt to end-run this principle under the guise of national economic planning would succeed in destroying both our personal liberty and our productive power." And George Hagedorn, vice president and chief economist of the National Association of Manufacturers, said, "It's a general belief among most businessmen that the economic problems of our country don't call for further government involvement; indeed, these problems are the result of too much government intervention already."

But Humphrey seemed undaunted by his critics, and continued crusading for his bill. "Planning must be open and democratic," he said. "Long-term economic policy is too important to leave to the economists." And there seems to be some public support for Government economic planning. A Federally financed survey of public opinion, released last week, showed that 56 per cent of those surveyed want more Government economic regulation, and 35 per cent want less.

ECONOMICS

Lesson 3

"U.S. Savings Bonds... They Don't Keep Up With Inflation"

An entire economics course could be taught from the weekly Observer features dealing with consumer affairs and personal finance. The orientation of these regular features is practical—the type of material that most economics texts and courses are often accused of ignoring. Undoubtedly, future curriculum development in economics will be in this direction.

In this article, "U. S. Savings Bonds...They Don't Keep Up With Inflation," The National Observer, June 21, 1975, Morton C. Paulson subtly establishes the point that decisions regarding savings dollars should be made as carefully as those relating to consumption expenditures. In addition, the reader is introduced to the vocabulary of personal finance as well as a host of savings and investment alternatives.

To the economics teacher, this article offers a brief but thorough introduction to the topic of savings and investments for students. It also would provide an excellent foundation for a unit on this topic. The activities recommended on the next page demonstrate the applicability of this article to the economics classroom.

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the concepts of savings and investments as they relate to personal financial decisions.

2. Students will understand the reasons why government issues savings bonds and their relationship to the government's budget.

VOCABULARY:

The vocabulary in this article comprises an economics lesson in itself and its mastery would be a prerequisite for further study in this area. Depending on the level of the students, the instructor may wish to direct some special attention to any or all of the following financial terms:

interest
yield
discount
redeemed
face value
mature
inflation rate
beneficiary
daily compounding
long-term corporate bonds
income-oriented mutual funds
insured savings certificates
collateral
registered bonds
payroll savings plan

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. These questions could be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What is the difference between Series E and Series H bonds?

2. According to the author, what is the major economic disadvantage of government savings bonds?

3. The author notes that some 9.5 million workers purchase savings bonds regularly through the payroll savings plan. In light of the liability noted above, why might this method of saving be so popular?

4. To whom would you recommend U. S. government savings bonds? Why would you make this recommendation?

5. Compare and contrast the relative advantages and disadvantages of government savings bonds, passbook savings accounts, savings certificates and corporate bonds? (Note: If the instructor so wished this could easily be expanded to include other types of securities though additional information would have to be provided.)

6. According to the author, savings bonds are sold by the government because it "...likes to borrow money..." Considering the fact that the government collects billions of dollars in tax revenues, why does it borrow?

7. What advice is the author of this article advancing to the reader concerning saving and investment?

B. Because this article provides a thorough introduction to the language of the world of securities, it might be worthwhile to expand upon this foundation by engaging in one or more of the following advanced activities:

1. COMMUNITY RESOURCES - An array of resources exist in the community to enhance the students' knowledge of personal finance. U. S. Treasury Department and Federal Reserve publications on these subjects are available free of charge. Likewise, a speaker from the Treasury Department could be invited to give a presentation on government securities. Bankers and brokers are usually quite willing to speak before student groups. It may be possible to arrange a field trip to the securities department of a large bank or brokerage house or students could be encouraged individually or in small groups to visit such institutions in the community.

2. THE INVESTMENT PORTFOLIO PROJECT - If the instructor is desirous of a more thorough treatment of savings and investments this well-known project would be quite useful. The student is issued a hypothetical sum of money which can then be put to use in savings and investments. The teacher can adjust the instructions and limitations to fit his/her peculiar situation. This assignment permits students to apply and extend their knowledge of the full range of savings and investment options.

U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

... They don't keep up with inflation.

By Morton C. Paulson

It's that time of year again, the time when Uncle Sam whoops it up in grand style for U.S. savings bonds. "Buying bonds is good for you and good for America," purrs a beaming Earl Butz, commandant of the current promotional efforts. President Ford announced at a recent White House ceremony that he has increased his bond purchasing.

Why all the eagerness to sell bonds? One can assume that the Government wants to encourage thrift among the citizenry, even though it doesn't always set an inspiring example. But the Government also likes to borrow money at rock-bottom costs. And that's what it does when it sells savings bonds.

When you buy savings bonds you're lending money to the Government—and

Personal Finance

for less interest than the Government pays other borrowers. The bonds have been losing propositions for purchasers in recent years because the interest yields have been lower than the rates of increases in consumer prices.

In other words, losses of the dollar's purchasing power have been considerably greater than the returns paid by savings bonds. Hence, bond buyers have been subsidizing the Federal Government—which is ironic since the Government is largely responsible for the price inflation that keeps lacerating their savings.

This doesn't necessarily mean that savings bonds should be avoided. They do have certain attractive qualities. Approximately 40 million Americans—one out of five—own them. But don't let the Madison Avenue hoopla bowl you over; find out before you buy whether the bonds meet your investment objectives.

To begin with, make sure you understand exactly how interest payments work. You may be told that the bonds pay 6 per cent interest a year. That's true only when the bonds are held to maturity; if you cash them before maturity you get less.

Two Bond Types

There are two kinds of bonds. The Series E bond is sold at a discount and can be redeemed for its face value after five years. For example, an $18.75 E bond is redeemable for $25.20.

The Series H bond is sold at face value, and the buyer receives interest checks twice a year from the U.S. Treasury. These bonds mature in 10 years, at which time the buyer is repaid his original investment in cash.

An E bond earns 4.54 per cent the first year; after that the interest rate climbs in half-year steps until maturity. An H bond earns 4.99 per cent the first year and progressively more thereafter. The total return on each at maturity averages out to 6 per cent a year. But the inflation rate was 12.2 per cent last year and 8.8 per cent in 1973. The rate may be somewhat lower this year.

Broader Borrowing Base

Yields on savings bonds have been raised eight times since the bond program was inaugurated in 1941, and the higher rates always apply to bonds outstanding. The last boost—from 5.5 per cent to 6 per cent—was authorized in December 1973. Treasury Secretary William E. Simon this month asked Congress to lift the ceiling again, arguing that this would give the Government a broader borrowing base at a time of rising deficits.

You have to hold an E bond for 4½ years and an H bond for 1½ years before the return equals the 5.25 per cent you can get from a Federally insured passbook account in a savings institution, where your money is instantly available. With daily compounding, the passbook rate is 5.47 per cent.

Currently you can get well over 9 per cent from long-term corporate bonds and some income-oriented mutual funds, and more than 10 per cent from insured savings certificates that are held for six years or longer [The Observer, June 14, 1975].

Finally, savings bonds can't be used as collateral for a loan, as can many other investments.

What, then, do the bonds have to recommend them?

There's no denying that they're unexcelled for safety. Not only are they backed by the Government's full faith and credit, but if lost, stolen, damaged, or destroyed, they will be replaced by the Treasury without charge. All bonds are registered in the owner's name. Thus, savings bonds are actually safer than cash. (It should be noted, though, that many higher-yield Government securities also have full Federal backing, and that Federally insured savings deposits, including certificates, are just about as safe.)

Retirement Advantage

Available through thousands of banking institutions and other outlets, bonds are convenient to buy and redeem. They provide a simple and relatively painless way to save for some 9.5 million workers who make regular purchases through payroll-savings plans.

Interest from savings bonds is exempt from state and local taxes, and you can put off paying Federal income taxes on interest from E bonds until you cash them. For that reason E bonds can be advantageous to persons nearing retirement. The idea is to buy them a few years before you retire and cash them afterward, when you'll probably be in a lower tax bracket. Or, you could exchange them for H bonds, and defer taxes on the E-bond interest until the H bonds are cashed. Once you've retired, however, E bonds aren't recommended because you must hold them for five years to collect the full 6 per cent.

You can use E bonds to provide tax-free gifts or education funds for your children. The bonds should be bought in the child's name with you as beneficiary, *not* as co-owner. After a year, the Federal income-tax return should be filed in the child's name, with the first year's interest reported. From then on no further returns need be filed so long as the child's income is less than $750 a year.

It's not necessary to cash either E or H bonds when they mature. If you wish, you can hold on to them and keep receiving the interest for up to 10 years.

Lesson 4

"Let 'Em Starve!"

Basic to the study of economics is the concept of scarcity. Scarcity is the raison d'etre of economics. If resources were unlimited there would be no need to consider alternatives and priorities, there would be more than enough for everyone in perpetuity. This, of course, is not the case. Resources are scarce—and we have become more painfully aware of scarcity in the past year as a number of variables have collaborated in such a manner as to suggest, according to a number of thinkers, an impending Malthusian disaster. The locus of this disaster will be the world's developing nations.

The scenarios being sketched by many who study this situation are frightening—not only in the dimension of human suffering and misery but also in the area of the political, economic, social and ethical questions that this situation prompts for those of us living in the developed nations of the world. Observer writer Michael T. Malloy presents in this article, "Let 'Em Starve!" The National Observer, March 29, 1975, one approach to these painful questions that have been receiving an increasing amount of attention. To the social science teacher this article presents a number of possibilities around which a meaningful lesson or entire unit could be structured. The following ideas and activities are ways in which this article could be employed in the social science classroom.

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master the concept of scarcity and its implications in international politics and the economics of distribution.

2. Students will probe the ethical questions confronting the developing nations as they approach the question of foreign aid.

3. Given the information in this article plus the recommended readings noted below, groups of students will construct scenarios of the world food-population situation in the year 2000.

PREPARATORY ACTIVITY: The Fall-Out Shelter Problem

This one-day, simulated problem solving exercise is designed to replicate in the classroom the type of ethical questions depicted in the article. Given in class prior to the students' reading of the article, this exercise places small groups of students in the position of making life or death decisions about themselves and other people. Background information and instructions for the students can be tailored to fit this article. Copies of The Fall-Out Shelter Problem are available in a number of sources, for instance, VALUES CLARIFICATION by Sidney Simon, Leland Howe and Howard Kirschenbaum.

VOCABULARY:

The following vocabulary items might be brought to the attention of the students prior to the reading of the article. Of course, items may be deleted or added where appropriate.

triage
analogy
law-of-the-jungle nationalism
human ecology
cerebral
visceral
ethics
agronomy
Sahel
demographic transition

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions could be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. Explain the "lifeboat analogy" as presented in this article.

2. What is triage? How could triage be implemented into foreign aid programs? What justification is given for the triage approach to aiding developing nations?

3. What, according to this article, are the alternatives to triage for the developed nations?

4. Why, in your opinion, do the heavily populated developing nations resist pressures to develop a population policy?

5. What is the demographic transition referred to in this article? Given the cultural differences between the eastern and western worlds, can such a demographic change be realistically expected in the developing nations?

6. If you were in a decision-making position in one of the developed nations of the world, what kind of aid programs would you construct? Justify your answer.

B. Any or all of the following activities could be assigned for advanced work on this topic:

1. Using the STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE U. S. (see chapter entitled "State Department") or another similar resource, determine the foreign aid allotments made by the U. S. for the past year. What nations received the most aid? What kind of aid? Are the nations receiving this aid the neediest? Compare these aid statistics with ones for previous years. Is there a pattern apparent in the U. S. foreign aid? (similar assignments could be crafted using other compilations of international political statistics such as the U. N. Yearbook).

2. Using THE READER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE and newspaper indices investigate the World Population Conference held in August, 1974 and the World Food Conference of November, 1974. What opinions, ideas and reactions did these conferences generate?

3. (Group or individual assignment) Using the resources noted above, the article itself and those noted on the reading list, write a scenario depicting the world food-population situation in the year 2000.

William and Joseph Paddock, FAMINE - 1975?
Robert Heilbroner, THE GREAT ASCENT -- and his chapter on Thomas Malthus in THE WORLDLY PHILOSOPHERS.
Paul Ehrlich, THE POPULATION BOMB and THE END OF AFFLUENCE
Thomas Canby and Steve Raymer, "Can the World Feed Its People?" (NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, July, 1975).
Garrett Hardin, "Lifeboat Ethics–The Case Against Helping the Poor," (PSYCHOLOGY TODAY, September, 1974).

'Let 'Em Starve!'

A New Approach To World Hunger

By Michael T. Malloy

GARRETT HARDIN and William Paddock are scientists and writers who coined new uses for the words "lifeboat" and "triage." You may hear these words more often in the future. They are easy-to-handle analogies for a new way of looking at the ties between Americans and the rest of mankind. They are shorthand for "Let 'em starve."

Listen to Hardin, writing in BioScience:

Each rich nation amounts to a lifeboat full of comparatively rich people. The poor of the world are in other, much more crowded lifeboats. Continuously, so to speak, the poor fall out of their lifeboats and swim for a while in the water outside, hoping to be admitted to a rich lifeboat, or in some other way to benefit from the "goodies" on board. What should the passengers on a rich lifeboat do?

And now hear Paddock:

It's true we can support a great many more people than we are supporting today. If the United States turns completely vegetarian, our agriculture can support 800 million people instead of 200 million. But the world is increasing at 90 million people a year, so that only gives us nine years. What do you do for an encore after those nine years?

It's More Humane

Callousness and law-of-the-jungle nationalism are certainly not new in human affairs. What is new is the suggestion that letting people starve may be moral, ethical, and the humanely preferable way. Paddock and Hardin have been around for years, but the last 100 or 200 days seem to have produced the most widespread and serious discussion of their ideas. They imply that we should abandon the hungry millions of India, cut off food aid to Bangladesh, and turn away from famine victims in Africa, for their own good as well as ours.

"I think the most important reason for not sending any food to any desperately needy country should not so much be put in terms of practicalities. . . . We should refuse to do it because the lives that we save today are going to be paid for by worse loss of life and worse misery in the generations that will follow," says Hardin, a professor of human ecology at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

It Fits the New Ethics

"I agree cerebrally, but viscerally I am kicking like a steer," says Joseph Fletcher, the Protestant theologian who wrote *Situation Ethics* and coined the phrase in English. The concept has helped the morally sensitive find an ethical basis for abortion, euthanasia, and other acts forbidden by more ancient moral codes.

"I haven't been able to find any holes in Garrett's logic," Fletcher continues. "Acting on the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number, it does appear that for a few countries—some of the African countries south of the Sahel, and perhaps Bangladesh—that more people will die of disease and starvation if you feed them."

The lifeboat image is easy and obvious. If people in the rich lifeboat give their substance to the doomed folk falling out of the others, they reduce the chances of their own survival. But they do not improve things on the other lifeboats, where food and fuel are quickly translated into more babies, who in turn push more passengers over the side to struggle in the water of starvation.

"Every life saved this year in a poor country diminishes the quality of life for subsequent generations," Hardin wrote in the October issue of BioScience. "Are good intentions ever an excuse for bad consequences?"

Triage is a word that once meant sorting hides or coffee beans into different grades, such as good, fair, and awful. "To me, until very recently, triage has always meant inferior coffee," says Dr. Stuart Hinds, an English physician who recently attended a meeting on William Paddock's version of triage (Hinds is against it) at the Institute of Religion and Human Development at Baylor College of Medicine in Houston.

"Then triage got to be used in medicine, during wars and disasters," Hinds continues. "Unhappily, I often had to apply this technique on the Western Desert during the war. You divide your casualties into three groups: Those who are going to die whatever you do for them, those who are going to live whatever you do for them, and those who are going to die unless you give them medical attention. Then because your medical resources are limited, you concentrate them on the third group."

Paddock: No Differences

Agronomist William Paddock and his brother Joseph, a retired diplomat, proposed applying the same principle to the hungry nations whose plight they predicted in 1967 with their book *Famine—1975!* The book assumed that the poor countries' population explosion would continue, as it has, and that the United States' hoard of surplus food would vanish, as it did. They suggested triage as a way of rationing what help America could give during the resulting "Time of Famines." They even included a section that summarized the situation of some problem countries, with handy boxes where readers could check off whether they should get food (the Paddocks suggested Pakistan and Tunisia), could get along without it (Libya, Gambia), or be written off as "can't be saved" (India, Haiti).

"The publishers have been after me to write a new preface for the book," William Paddock says. "At first they wanted a whole new edition of it, but I sat down and reread the book with that in mind and I could not see any change to be made in it. I can't believe myself how accurate it was. The rest of the world has added 700 million more people in the last eight years, more hungry, more malnourished, more illiterates. The whole picture is worse, and now you have to add the energy crisis.

"When we wrote that book we were still very much in favor of foreign aid; we only wanted it better targeted. But now I feel we should cut down on aid because of what has happened since about 1970. I don't see any difference between me and Hardin; I think Garrett Hardin is completely right in his interpretation."

Faith vs. Science?

Paddock, an expert on tropical agri-

culture, has friends in some of the countries that triage would write off. Hardin is a cheerful man, an amateur violinist, with a marked wit and sense of humor. Why are such men pushing people out of lifeboats? And why is the idea suddenly so widely discussed, especially in scientific circles?

Well, it may be precisely because they are scientists, because the computer-assisted extrapolations of the scientific community seem to be ringing more and more alarm bells about a coming collision between population and resources at a date within the lifetimes of many of us. Though few scientists agree with Paddock's and Hardin's answers, many are asking the same questions.

"Denial that the relatively near future could witness large-scale disaster rests, it seems to me, more on optimistic articles of faith than on scientific analysis," says Philip Handler, who as president of the National Academy of Sciences is in a position to see or commission many of the people-and-resources studies. Last September Handler made a speech that urged an enormous new aid effort to rescue the poor nations, but in tones of such profound pessimism that he was widely believed to be advocating triage. "Cruel as it may sound, if the developed and affluent nations do not intend the colossal, all-out effort commensurate with this task, then it may be wiser to 'let nature take its course,'" he said.

"I don't believe in the concept [of triage] and I don't use the term," Handler insists in an interview. His preferred solution is to pour resources from the rich countries (lifeboats?) into the poor ones in an effort to make them rich enough in fertilizer plants, irrigation works, and factories to grow—or at least pay for—their own food. "If we don't intend to do that," he says, "even at some expense to our own standard of living, then I have a hard time thinking that feeding the starving, so there will be more starving people, is wise."

Two Chances, Two Refusals

American sacrifices would be wasted, however, if the poor countries do not co-operate by bringing down their runaway birth rates. Otherwise the starving 75 million people of Bangladesh will be a starving 150 million in just 25 years; the 800 million hungry people of the Indian subcontinent will balloon to 1.6 billion hungry people. Said Handler: "No nation should be offered food, financial, or technical assistance without full political commitment to an aggressive program of population control by means acceptable within its own culture."

The poor countries had an opportunity to make such a commitment at the 100-nation World Population Conference at Bucharest last August, but they refused. They could have committed themselves at the World Food Conference in Rome last November, but they didn't. Instead they banded together to pass resolutions suggesting that the real problem was that wealthy nations consume too much and give away too little. This seems in part the reason for the sudden spurt of interest in triage and lifeboat solutions. "A great many people were converted," says Fletcher, "people who a year ago would not take that position at all."

"It makes no sense that these same nations who are food-poor are also the ones who are experiencing the largest growth of population and seem least interested in doing anything about it," complains Rep. Jerry Litton of Missouri. Litton came back angry from the Rome meeting and introduced a bill that would cut off all food aid to countries that don't make "reasonable and productive" efforts to stabilize their populations. Democrat Litton wasn't familiar with Paddock's or Hardin's doctrines, but he says he was shaken by seeing famine on a fact-finding mission to the African Sahel and then meeting officials of the same countries "who made it very plain to me they had no interest in doing anything about population control.

"I feared at first that this proposal would be misunderstood as cold-hearted and hard-line," Litton says of his bill. Instead, he has picked up 11 House cosponsors, received more than 500 favorable letters, and begun to push the measure in speeches around the country.

So the principle of triage may be catching on. Hardin says he spoke before 16,000 people in two weeks last summer; he has a schedule of talk shows, debates, and speeches lined up through this spring.

The ethics of triage became "the underlying theme" at a conference of scientists last October at Philadelphia's Franklin Institute, according to the New York Times account of the meeting. It quoted Professor Jay Forrester of Massachusetts Institute of Technology as saying: "We are at a point now where we must give up the idea that good is good in the ideal sense and realize that what is good now may be bad in the future. . . . Some countries are, in effect, already discussing triage. And as environmental and other stresses change, so will our ethics."

"This way of determining what we ought to do—in terms of variables of the changing situation rather than eternal principles—is the way science works," theologian Fletcher says of situation ethics. "So I don't get much resistance to it in professional circles."

The lifeboat ethic has been denounced as "obscene" by Harvard population expert Roger Revelle, and triage as a "bankrupt doctrine" by Sen. Hubert Humphrey. But even opponents often share the basic pessimism about the food-fuel-population problem that underlies these doctrines.

Triage Already in Use?

"I guess I would argue that we are already practicing triage," says environmentalist John Steinhart of the University of Wisconsin, noting how much American food aid goes to politically favored nations, such as Syria or Vietnam, instead of genuinely hungry ones, such as India and Bangladesh. "That decides that some Indians will die and some Syrians live. It is simple as that."

To start practicing triage when there is plenty of food in the world seems both selfish and unnecessary to the overwhelming majority of those who have lately discussed it. "It's morally repulsive and it's technically wrong," said Robert McNamara, the president of the World Bank and former U.S. Secretary of Defense. "If you want to use the lifeboat analogy, the lifeboat's capacity is a hundred and we've only got 75 in it."

"We are not in that desperate a condition," says Father Henriot. "Before you start pitching people out of lifeboats, you could at least get rid of the golf clubs."

Spaceship, Not Lifeboats

To such critics, the proper analogy isn't the lifeboat or the battlefield aid station but the spaceship. They believe the proper response is for the rich to ease up on the "overdevelopment" of their end of the spaceship so resources can be shared with the poor. The poor countries argued in Rome and Bucharest that development and industrialization itself would put them through the "demographic transition" in which birth rates dropped in Europe, Japan, and North America when they became wealthy and industrialized. City life and jobs for women tend to cut back birth rates. Prosperity and old-age pensions eliminate the need to have a lot of children as a kind of "social security."

Ecologist Paul Ehrlich *(The Population Bomb)* is so bleakly pessimistic about achieving the demographic transition this side of disaster that he counsels readers of his latest book, *The End of Affluence*, to stock up on food, water, and warm clothes. But he makes an even more chilling objection to the practice of lifeboat philosophy within the narrow confines of Spaceship Earth: "Even if you don't think we should feed them just because they are starving, we should still feed them because they are starving and they have atomic weapons."

HISTORY

Lesson 5

"Potsdam: Where It All Began"

The failure in Vietnam, the debate over detente, changing political conditions in a number of traditionally friendly nations and the Middle East situation–all have prompted Americans to take an exasperating look at American foreign policy. How did we get here? Where is this leading? What lessons are to be learned from these events? What ingredients should be added and deleted as the U. S. attempts to craft future policy? Questions such as these have prompted an intense re-examination of the last three decades of American diplomatic history.

Thirty years have elapsed since the ending of World War II. Historians and political scientists feel that the foundation for America's post war foreign policy was set at the diplomatic conferences held by the major allied powers that accompanied the end of the war. Not surprisingly, it is these conferences that are presently being reassessed by historians as they attempt to explain the international affairs of the period 1945-1975.

Charles L. Mee's MEETING AT POTSDAM is a critical evaluation of the characters involved and the events that took place at the Potsdam Conference of August, 1945. In "Potsdam: Where It all Began," The National Observer, May 3, 1975, Robert W. Merry examines Mee's thesis and considers its implications for the last thirty years of American foreign policy. The article offers the teacher of history some interesting prospects. Not only does it offer a "new look" at an important historical event, it also raises some questions concerning the conduct of foreign policy and, inadvertently, the writing of history.

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the historical implications of Potsdam through The Observer article.

2. Students will interpret the commonality between the historical events of 1945 and 1975.

3. Students will gain insight into the writing of history and the role of the historian.

PREPARATORY ACTIVITY:

So that the student may be best prepared to read, understand and evaluate this article a little advance work should be completed prior to its reading. Students should be instructed to examine text and encyclopedia accounts of the Potsdam conference of 1945. A few basic questions could direct the students' preparatory study:

1. What specific agreements were reached at Potsdam?

2. What items or problems were not settled at Potsdam?

3. What insights are given by the authors into the personalities of the three world leaders meeting at this conference?

4. What interpretation or analysis, if any, do the authors offer concerning this conference and/or the leaders meeting at Potsdam?

VOCABULARY:

With this preparation completed students should be instructed to read "Potsdam: Where It All Began." Depending on the level of sophistication of the students, any or all of the following vocabulary items may be noted:

narrative	tripartite
intransigence	rhetoric
detente	interventionist
thesis	rationale
ideological	Truman Doctrine
spheres of influence	Marshall Plan
"Big Three"	exacerbated
nuance	

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What is Mee's thesis concerning the Potsdam conference and the origins of the cold war? How does Mee's thesis differ from other interpretations of these events?

2. Assuming that you have not read MEETING AT POTSDAM, what kind of evidence would you feel that Mee must present to support his thesis?

3. Is there such a thing as a definitive or "final" history of an event or period or is history always subject to reinterpretations? Does your answer to this question suggest some conclusions about the nature of history?

4. In the last paragraph of the article, the author takes the reader from 1945 to the events of 1975 suggesting that they are linked together. How can America's experience in Vietnam and our shocking findings concerning the activity of the C. I. A. be related to the Potsdam conference and the events that followed?

5. The diplomacy of Yalta and Potsdam were dominated by the personalities in attendance. What dangers may exist in this type of personal diplomacy? Are these dangers avoidable or is diplomacy an area in which individual personalities will always predominate?

B. If time permits, any of the following activities could be employed to further the students' understanding and appreciation of this topic:

1. Author Robert Merry presents a number of provocative conclusions drawn by Mee as a result of his study of Potsdam. For instance, Mee suggests that the cold war was "phony," nothing more than rhetoric created to garner popular support for an interventionist American foreign policy. Students could be assigned critical evaluation papers to examine this and other such conclusions. The teacher could direct the student to use certain types of data in the course of his/her critical analysis. Content analysis of periodicals spanning the 1945-1954 period might prove interesting.

2. A topic such as Potsdam offers an unusually good opportunity for students to become "involved" in a historical event through a simulation strategy. Combining research and role-playing, the students could hold their own meeting at Potsdam.

C. Additional Resources:

Denna F. Fleming, THE COLD WAR AND ITS ORIGINS, 1917-1960 – 2 volumes.

H. Feis, CHURCHILL, ROOSEVELT, AND STALIN: THE WAR THEY WAGED and THE PEACE THEY SOUGHT.

H. Feis, BETWEEN WAR and PEACE: THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE.

J. Lukacs, A HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR.

George Kennan, AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1900-1950.

W. Williams, THE TRAGEDY of AMERICAN DIPLOMACY: AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, 1781-1947.

Potsdam: Where It All Began

By Robert W. Merry
FROM NEW YORK CITY

Charles L. Mee, Jr., sits in Manhattan's Le Marmiton restaurant, sips a tonic with lime juice, and enjoys a respite from the whirlwind book-promotion circuit that has been consuming so much of his life lately. He'll be back on the circuit soon enough, but for now he's relaxing and talking about his latest book and how it has changed his life—from the relative obscurity of an editor at American Heritage to the relative fame of a sought-after author.

"When I used to tell people I was doing a book on Potsdam," says Mee after a lunch of filet of sole, "they would say, 'Potsdam? What's that?' I really had no idea the book would get this much attention."

The book is *Meeting at Potsdam* [Evans. 370 pages. $10.95.], and the attention includes favorable notices in many publications (lead review in a recent Sunday New York Times), and selection by the Literary Guild book club. Mee, a soft-spoken man in his 30s, smiles sheepishly when asked how he likes all the attention. Promoting books isn't as much fun as writing them, he replies, adding he has quit his American Heritage job as editor of Horizon magazine so he can write more. But of course he's excited about the book's success.

The Great Exercise

That success might have something to do with the book's timing. A gripping narrative of the famous Potsdam conference, when the world was putty in the hands of the Big Three victors, Mee's book was dropped into the continuing controversy over whether that unsettling hostility known as the Cold War was the product of the intransigent Russians or the intransigent West. Mee's answer: Both interpretations miss the point.

Both Russia and the West contributed significantly to that hostility, says Mee, and that fact can be traced to the great exercise in divvying up the world at Potsdam. The Big Three, he concludes, didn't really want a stable postwar world; they wanted a fluid world situation in which they could continue jockeying for position.

And when the jockeying began, it became time to unfurl that Cold War rhetoric that now rings with such familiarity—and that Mee says helped shroud world realities for the past three decades.

Mee's reappraisal of the Cold War's origins comes at a time also of intense debate over what the Cold War has become, whether *detente* signals the end of the Cold War era or is merely another stage of that era with a new name. And that debate lies at the heart of probably the most pressing question facing the American people at the twilight of the postwar era: What is America's proper role in the world?

Joe and Tom

That's the same question that faced the American people at the dawn of the postwar era, back in the days when Harry Truman went off to Potsdam to help mold the world. How Truman answered that question and how his answer shaped his behavior make the stuff of Mee's narrative.

Joe Stalin, said Truman shortly after meeting the Soviet dictator at Potsdam, "is as near like Tom Pendergast as any man I know." You might wonder why Truman compared a ruthless Russian Communist to his onetime political patron, the Democratic boss of Kansas City, Mo. But Mee says that pithy comparison casts a shaft of light on the question of Truman's behavior at Potsdam and after.

"No one," writes Mee, "called Big Tom Pendergast an idealist, or an ideologue, or an altruist. . . . No one thought he had any sense of scruples, or that he intended to honor his word a moment longer than it suited his needs. No one ever thought you could make a dime with Big Tom through personal diplomacy, or that there was anything much to 'co-operating' with Big Tom. . . . On the other hand, no one thought Big Tom was an evil or godless man. A sphere of influence was only that; it was simply the assumed base of power politics, to be preserved at all costs—and enlarged if possible."

No Blame for Purges

That description, Mee implies, could be used to explain how Truman perceived Stalin, the man who once said: "The pope? How many divisions does he have?" Elaborating on his book's thesis, Mee says: "Sure, Stalin was a Communist, but that didn't define his way of life. It's hard to find one instance in which Stalin sacrificed his own concept of power to ideological commitment."

Cold power was what Potsdam was all about, and the Western leaders at Potsdam treated Stalin as the supreme power politician he was. Mee himself identifies Stalin as "truly one of the great brutal men in all history." But Churchill and Truman weren't thinking of that when they matched wits with him at the Potsdam conference table. Churchill even said in private conversation that he didn't blame Stalin for his famous 1930s purges.

It was only after Potsdam that the West cast Stalin as a threatening, godless despot tyrannizing Eastern and Central Europe and bent on doing the same elsewhere. "Stalin says, 'Where my army is, that's what I control,'" says Mee. "And Churchill and Truman respond and say, 'Right, we recognize spheres of influence. There's your power, and here's our power; let's draw a line.' So they drew a line, and then they later called it—ominously—an Iron Curtain."

Intended to Fail?

But it wasn't just Churchill and Truman, says Mee, who refused to accept the political realities that guided discussions at Potsdam. Stalin also recognized natural spheres of influence at the conference table, then later acted as if those spheres never had been clarified.

Mee's view is that the Big Three intended Potsdam to fail, that compromises made there were really "careful constructions permitting opposing interpretations." Where Stalin compromised, Truman pretended the Russians had fully accepted the American position; where he stood fast, Truman pretended he had compromised. And Stalin did likewise.

"Compromise," writes Mee, "had not been a way to find agreement, but a way to lure an opponent that extra inch into a trap. The arguments of the Potsdam conference all surfaced again, but . . . this time, because of the Potsdam agreements, each side was able to show with only a slight change in nuance that the other side had broken an agreement, was now acting in bad faith, was untrustworthy. . . ." Thus, says Mee, the Big Three didn't write the peace. "They signed what amounted to a tripartite declaration of Cold War."

'A Great Phony War'

Mee's thesis may be, as one reviewer suggested, "too pat and dubious a case." But his study reveals a pattern of intrigue and duplicity touching all three participants: Truman putting off several topics until a full postwar peace conference he knew would never occur; Churchill craftily nurturing dissension

between Stalin and Truman; Stalin casually lying to Presidential adviser Harry Hopkins that the Western principles of democracy, as applied to Poland, would "find no objection on the part of the Soviet government."

Such instances have helped forge Mee's view of the Cold War. "That war," he says, "was really one of the great phony wars of all time. And detente is also one of the phoniest. Yesterday it was an inevitable conflict; today it's a rosy friendship."

But isn't it true, one might ask, that the Big Three's performance was only the kind of performance one might expect from great-power leaders at a time of upheaval and fluidity? "They were acting as leaders of great powers, yes," says Mee, "but I don't accept the thesis that that is the way leaders must behave. If all world leaders behave that way, then inevitably we're going down the road to hell on earth."

Rhetorical Fervor

What nettles Mee is not so much the actions the West took to preserve its own spheres of influence, but the rhetoric that went with them. He quotes Louis J. Halle, a young State Department analyst in 1945, who said that deception is not a lamentable by-product of foreign relations, but rather an essential precondition if the nation's leaders are to have a free rein to pursue a "realistic" interventionist foreign policy.

Thus, writes Mee, it became necessary for the country's leaders to invent the rhetorical underpinnings for an interventionist foreign policy. "The President and his men in the State Department were interventionists; the rest of the country was, for the most part, anti-interventionist. The interventionists had a program in search of a salable rationale." Hence, the Cold War's rhetorical fervor.

But what about the threat to Greece and Turkey, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan? That question, concedes Mee, poses "a nice dilemma." With only a short pause, he continues: "I think the Marshall Plan was necessary. . . . But in hindsight we can see that the rhetoric with which it was launched exacerbated the tensions between the U.S. and Russia unnecessarily."

Too High a Price

What, then, is the lesson? The lesson, says Mee, is that if that kind of duplicity is the price of an interventionist foreign policy, it is too high a price. "If you behave on the world stage hypocritically and cynically, if you use force instead of persuasion, confrontation instead of conciliation, if you use your CIA instead of your diplomats, then all of that will eventually come home to your own country." For Americans, he adds, it came home in the form of the Vietnam experience.

Lesson 6

"The Day The War Began"

Lexington...Concord...the North Bridge...minutemen...What student of history has not questioned what it must have been like, how it must have really felt to have been there in those hectic, emotion-charged days of the spring of 1775. As the Bicentennial approaches a flurry of historical research has been directed to the task of rediscovering and recharting the events, feelings and people of the revolutionary era. But in the course of digging beneath the events some perplexing questions begin to emerge.

"The Revolution Revisited" is a special multi-part feature prepared by The Observer and dedicated to the re-examination of people, places and events of significance in the American Revolution. Part IV of this series, "The Day the War Began," The National Observer, April 19, 1975, offers students of American History a comprehensive view of the events of April 18 and 19, 1775. In addition, August Gribbin's speculations serve as an excellent source for further discussion, debate and research.

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will document the interplay of events on April 18 and 19, 1775 in Boston, Lexington and Concord.

2. Students will generate and investigate hypotheses concerning the motive forces of a historical event.

VOCABULARY:

vanguard	isthmus
scourging	infiltrating
vexations	equestrian
minutemen	enigmas
common	embellish
emulating	consensus
debacle	martyrs
retaliated	fervor
artifacts	duped
cordmaker	cumbersome

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. Using this article plus an atlas or American history text, draw a map of the Boston-Lexington-Concord area. Document the events of April 18 and 19, 1775 on this map.

2. Dr. Joseph Warren, Paul Revere, William Dawes, Dr. Samuel Prescott, Samuel Adams and John Hancock are all mentioned in this article. Identify each in terms of his involvement in the events of April 18 and 19, 1775. (More detailed research could also be assigned.)

3. Write a script for a newsreel report of the events of April 18 and 19, 1775. Be sure to include interviews with participants and eyewitnesses.

4. Why does the author give so much attention to the "Battle" of Lexington?

5. Restate the theory the author advances that explains the Lexington affair as a "staged" event. According to this theory, why was the Lexington debacle "arranged?" How might, according to the author, have the events at Lexington been arranged? What kinds of information would you need to further test this hypothesis?

6. Advance some other hypotheses or theories to explain Lexington. What kinds of information would you need to test your hypotheses?

B. The following activities would permit more in-depth understanding of the events and people of the opening days of the Revolutionary War:

1. The best hypotheses put forth in answer to number six above could be assigned to students for research and testing. This assignment could be in a research paper format or a position paper—or could be designed for a student debate that would follow the research.

2. Recent attention has been given to the psycho-social dimension of revolution. From this framework students use behavorial science concepts such as social class or collective behavior to study a historical phenomenon. By way of testing the "Sam Adams theory" the teacher may expose his/her students to this perspective on the American Revolution. An assignment could be developed in which the students would compare the personalities of and roles played by such men as Thomas Paine, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, George Washington, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. The following sources would be helpful in such an endeavor:

J. C. Miller, SAM ADAMS: PIONEER IN PROPAGANDA.
Crane Brinton, AN ANATOMY OF REVOULTION.
J. F. Jameson, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION CONSIDERED AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT.
J. Axelrad, PATRICK HENRY: THE VOICE OF FREEDOM.
Select issues of AMERICAN HERITAGE.
Eric F. Goldman and George F. Mobley, "Firebrands of the Revolution" (NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, July 1974).

The Revolution Revisited: IV

The Day the War Began

By August Gribbin
FROM LEXINGTON, MASS.

THE VANGUARD of the 700-man column hustled into combat formation. Suddenly a single gun cracked. Then three or four muskets spat, and finally the British fired at will on this village's 77, mostly dispersing, Minutemen.

Thus the American Revolutionary War began. It began, that is, with presumably disciplined British troops disobeying orders not to shoot, slaughtering stubborn and apparently *silly* American patriots.

Silly?

How else would you describe men—some of them combat veterans—who decided to challenge a force that outnumbered them roughly 10 to 1?

Time and some historians have made legends of the men who died on the lawnlike Common here. There's old Jonas Parker, for instance.

Death on the Doorstep

A British shot slammed him to the ground, yet he fired where he dropped before a bayonet finished him. He was one of only eight patriots to return the British fire.

And Jonathan Harrington, whose house still stands near the Common here, crumpled to the grass. As his wife, Ruth, and their 8-year-old son watched, he crawled home writhing up his front path to die on his doorstep.

But why these and the six other Americans who perished here are considered worth emulating is, on the face of it, strange. It's a mystery that history hasn't dismissed them as fools.

The Lexington debacle occurred on Wednesday, April 19, 1775, when, on his "midnight ride," Paul Revere alerted Lexington; the British raided Concord, Mass.; and the Americans retaliated with scourging gunfire from behind trees and fences.

As traditionally narrated, the events began in Boston on the night of April 18 when rebel signal lamps flashed briefly in the North Church steeple.

The Lure of the Common

So I withdrew into the history of these events by walking to that church through the narrow streets of Boston's bustling Italian section, climbing the 11 flights of stairs and nearly vertical ladders to the spot where the lamps briefly glowed, riding horseback over part of the "Battle Road," which both Revere and the British troops traveled, and by roaming Concord.

But Lexington's Common lured me back. It was here, of course, not in Concord, that "the shot heard round the world" was fired—Ralph Waldo Emerson and his poem notwithstanding. And it's here, surrounded by the ancient houses, taverns, and artifacts that figured in the events, that one instinctively comes for answers to the mysteries of the Lexington "battle."

Sadly, history doesn't resolve the enigmas. It does yield clues though. Recall what happened:

About 10 p.m. on April 18, 1775, Dr. Joseph Warren, 34, a Boston surgeon and ranking rebel leader, confirmed that the British would raid Concord for war supplies. He also feared they might capture Sam Adams and John Hancock, who were hiding in Lexington.

Almost an Island

So he dispatched to Lexington and Concord Paul Revere and William Dawes, a cordmaker with a flair for acting—and for charming his way past His Majesty's guards. The two men were to go by different routes in the hope that one would make it if the other failed.

Today Boston is so vastly changed that it's hard to imagine it as it was—almost an island, linked to the mainland by a thin isthmus and a causeway. Dawes took the isthmus route inland, infiltrating the British fortifications that sealed off the city.

Revere traveled a shorter route. First, though, he stopped to order that two lamps be shown in the North Church tower, thus alerting colleagues in Cambridge, across the river, that the British were coming their way by boat rather than by the isthmus. It was a prearranged signal *from* Revere—not *to* him, as many believe. And since he managed to row undetected past a blockading British man-of-war and make it to Cambridge, the risky lamp flashing proved unnecessary.

This is the fourth in a series of articles in which The Observer revisits Revolutionary War sites and re-examines the events that occurred there.

Revere borrowed a fast horse at Cambridge and took off, at one point dodging and outracing a mounted British patrol that tried to stop him. He experienced other vexations. Earlier he had forgotten cloth for muffling his boat's rowing sounds. One of the two men who helped him with the boat solved the problem by obtaining a petticoat from a lady friend. Revere wrote that it was "still warm" when she tossed it to them. Revere also later told his children that he forgot his spurs and that his dog fetched them from home, but—well, fathers sometimes embellish tales they tell their youngsters.

The Doctor Escapes

After warning Lexington, Revere set off with Dawes for Concord. Halfway there they met young Dr. Samuel Prescott, who was riding from Concord, where he had been visiting his girl friend. Although it was then about 2 a.m., Prescott decided to ride back and help alert Concord—fortunately.

For soon a British patrol captured the trio. The patriots scuffled. Revere got free momentarily. A couple of officers grabbed his reins, rammed pistols against his chest, and swore they'd blow him apart. Revere quipped that at that range they "would miss their aim."

Suddenly Prescott broke away. As Revere later wrote, Prescott "jumped his horse over a low stone wall and got to Concord."

Centuries later, as our horses trotted along the Concord road, I asked Maureen Markey, an equestrian teacher and my guide, about Prescott's escape. It had been a bright night. Still, wasn't his jump difficult?

Bothersome Limbs

No, she said and demonstrated, sending her huge mount over a stone fence and into an overgrown field, hardly disturbing a leaf—like a deer bounding into a thicket. Yet I remain unconvinced.

In daylight, on a fairly hazard-free road that has been restored to resemble the lane Revere rode, tree limbs and sprigs tended to obscure ground on the road's fringe and kept me ducking.

Even if Prescott had an especially sure-footed mount, he chanced face injury as well as a shot in the back when he jumped and galloped cross country.

Dawes later escaped; Revere was freed in subsequent confusion. And about five hours after that the British were raiding Concord.

They destroyed relatively little: some ammunition, flour, cannons, and gunpowder. They also burned gun carriages and wooden tools. It was smoke from those fires that signaled the start of the soldiers' ordeal.

Thinking the British were burning the city, American militiamen attacked and defeated a British unit at the North Bridge. There was no sustained battle in Concord though.

The British had retreated a mile out of town before the patriots struck again. The rebels fired from cover, yet at times dashed into the road to blast

the enemy, often trading shots from within 150 feet. When one American unit tired or exhausted its ammunition and fell back, another militia group replaced it. This continued along all the 16 bloody miles to Boston.

Seventy-three British died that day, 174 were wounded, and 26 were reported missing. Forty-nine Americans died, 39 were injured and 5 were reported lost. The numbers weren't small, considering the inaccurate and cumbersome weapons used.

When the British regulars who had fired on Lexington's Minutemen in the morning re-entered the village in the afternoon, they were a ragged, terrified mob to be saved by an artillery-equipped relief force summoned from Boston. And when the British left, the morning's mysteries remained.

Silent Protest

Why had battle-smart Minutemen chosen to take a suicidal stand? Not merely because they were ordered to; they elected their officers and mostly reached decisions by consensus.

No, the evidence indicates they hadn't chosen to fight at all. They planned to stand silently in protest as the British passed.

Even that was risky, of course. Yet, although they weren't suffering from Britain's economic restrictions, the common-sense Lexington men would have embraced that risk if only because they resented the abolition of self-government in Massachusetts.

The people of Lexington were religious. They regularly heard politics preached from the pulpit and believed almost as intensely in the right of self-rule as in God. They believed that decent people must oppose denial of such a fundamental, religion-linked right. To do otherwise would endanger their sense of self-worth—a threat more fearsome to many of these men than musket balls and bayonets. Indeed, Lexington's Minutemen contained the stuff of martyrs.

The Promise of an Incident

According to one theory, Sam Adams, the patriots' master of manipulation and intrigue, was then looking for martyrs.

Colonial fervor for the radical cause was flagging outside Massachusetts. It's said that Adams was seeking a device to heighten the colonies' ill feelings against the British and that it would have been uncharacteristic of him not to see the promise of an incident occurring when silent, armed men stood near the march route of a hostile assault force that in fact expected a fight.

It's known that Adams had plenty of time to talk to—even persuade—the Minutemen. It's known that the British heard overblown estimates of the Minutemen's strength and intentions, and it's at least possible that they were deliberately given those estimates by patriots who wanted the British to think that battle was inevitable. Indeed, the British stopped to load weapons before entering the village although they still were under orders not to fire first.

What Really Matters

Knowing who fired the first shot could help clear up the mystery. But no one knows.

The British vanguard commander reportedly stated that he saw "a peasant" fire first from behind a building. He described the shot as a "misfire." If he was correct, it's possible that someone persuaded the patriot to shoot and thus set off the mayhem.

So maybe the Minutemen were duped. Maybe zeal beclouded their judgment. And maybe that doesn't matter.

After strolling around the Common here and seeing the monuments, it's easy to accept the implication that what really counts now is that the Minutemen simply followed their consciences and refused to let fear erode their determination: They reviewed their options, chose the one that seemed best, and acted.

One can argue about their choice. But who's to argue against their integrity, or to say that it's not worth emulating? Not I.

SOCIOLOGY

Lesson 7

"Where Have All The Flower Children Gone"

While watching The Graduate, Easy Rider, or Joe on their televisions a number of the 25 to 30 year old crowd have found themselves struck by the seeming inappropriateness of these films in 1975. They seem so dated...things are so different now...or are they??? How is it that those who seven years ago were at the forefront of radical politics, anti-establishment and war demonstrations, draft resistance and the ecology movement are now part of the so-called establishment, doing the things and leading the lives to which they then seemed so opposed?

John Peterson examines these questions in this article and raises a number of other points of great relevance to a sociology course interested in probing such phenomena as social change and culture. Assign for student reading "Where Have All The Flower Children Gone," The National Observer, February 22, 1975.

OBJECTIVE:

Students will probe the sociological concepts of culture, subculture and social change through an examination of recent phenomenon in American social history.

VOCABULARY:

free speech movement
counterculture
bureaucracy
subculture
altruism
romanticism

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used to review the article in a class discussion format and/or as a written assignment:

1. Did the so-called "movement" constitute a genuine sub or counterculture? Support your argument with sociological thought on this subject.

2. Would you agree with Professor Howard Higman's assessment "...that the altruism of the counterculture has turned to selfishness." Why or why not?

3. What possible factors does the author present to explain the breakdown of "the movement?"

4. In attempting to explain the disappearance of the counterculture would you place more emphasis on the fact that society had changed thereby becoming more acceptable to members of the counterculture; or would you say that the individuals themselves underwent a change in values or beliefs; or are both elements involved?

5. Would you agree with Professor Claasen's statements concerning today's youth and their total lack of concern for anything but personal and material goods?

B. The following activities can be used for further research on these and related topics:

1. Students could design a questionnaire or rating scale for collecting data on student values or concerns. Once the data is collected it could be tabulated and analyzed to find the extent of commitment that exists on the part of students to social and political ideals. This data could then be compared to findings from other research projects that have been conducted in this area.

2. Further research on the values, aims, composition and impact of the so-called counterculture could be conducted by examining the following sources:

James Simon Kunen, THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT; NOTES OF A COLLEGE REVOLUTIONARY.
Charles A. Reich, THE GREENING OF AMERICA.
Theodore Rozak, THE MAKING OF A COUNTER-CULTURE.
Alvin Toffler, FUTURE SHOCK (especially chapter 13).
Irwin Unger, THE MOVEMENT.

The Counterculture Absorbed

Where Have All The Flower Children Gone?

By John Peterson
FROM DENVER

Young Tim Corrigan came here from New York nearly two years ago in quest of the camaraderie and idealism he associated with the counterculture. "I knew there was a counterculture," the 21-year-old longhair says, sipping a beer at the bar of Shaner's restaurant. "But I wonder how something can disappear so fast?

"You see a longhair working construction today and you can bet he's doing the same thing his father did. He leaves his job in a new four-wheel-drive rig to head home to his wife and kids, payments on a $40,000 home, and an evening of drinking beer in front of his color TV. Or you see other longhairs and you find out they're ski bums or 'eco-freaks.' They're all just looking after themselves—there's no such thing as an idealistic hippie any more."

Corrigan seems right. The huge bulge of war babies is maturing, and as they age their identification with the once-seemingly monolithic "movement" for peace, love, relevance, and reform increasingly diminishes. The counterculture is, in fact, being smoothly absorbed by the culture.

'The Denver Gang'

Colorado is a particularly good place to examine where the dissenters, revolutionaries, and flower children have gone and what they are now thinking, because location here says much about a person's interests: The ecologists-turned-politicians—"the Denver Gang," a University of Colorado professor calls them—have captured the state government. The intellectuals have reinforced their insulated life-style on the university campus at Boulder. And the rich kids who used to belittle their money now hit the ski slopes and watering spots at Aspen. A few have remained true to their nonmaterialistic ideals, but others have become capitalists, politicians, bureaucrats, and blue-collar workers chasing charge-account comforts.

It is hardly more than 10 years since student activism caught fire with the Free Speech Movement on the University of California campus at Berkeley. For most of that decade, students and other activists possessed the common goals of ending the war in Vietnam and, more specifically, the draft. That unifying bond often put professors alongside unwashed high-school dropouts, and movie stars hand in hand with students, in the huge street demonstrations. But today the different causes—environment, human rights, women's liberation, social and economic reform—are divisive and often pit young people against each other.

"I had to tell one particularly ridiculous environmentalist one day: 'Look, you can't force the rest of us to commit economic suicide! We need jobs. People are as important as trees,'" says Donna Bright, a 21-year-old brunette who has been a carpenter for three years. "You know, Aspen disgusts me. They're on a heavy political trip there, but it's all just to keep it the way it is and to keep out anyone else, particularly the poor."

There are no clear trends or easy explanations of what these under-30 year olds are thinking these days. "You can say that the altruism of the counterculture has turned to selfishness," says Howard Higman, a University of Colorado sociology professor. "You can see it in the environmental movement, in the popular religions. Zen, astrology, Buddhism—they are all individualistic religions. Here at the university the largest numbers of students are majoring in philosophy and psychology, which are for their individual mental health."

Strangely, the impact of the counterculture seems to have spread not to the next young generation, but to the older generations. "Students today are unbelievably unconcerned with society and civilization," says Alfred Joseph Claassen, an assistant professor of sociology at the California State University at Fresno, who worked on his doctorate at the University of Colorado in the late 1960s. "They possess no driving moral sentiment, nothing except great concern for a good job, a new house, and television."

Dennis Dube, director of Boulder's Free School, reinforces Claassen's contention: "The counterculture is spreading upward," he says. "We have suffered a 4,000 per cent increase in enrolment since 1972, and mostly in arts and crafts. But every year our students' median age increases by another year. The high-school students and university undergraduates have no interest in what we offer."

Dube concedes that "you'll find hip enemies lined up on opposing sides of different issues," but argues that "when it comes right down to it, we know who we are. Revolution is fine; but right now everyone's too busy making enough bread. Most of the members of the Movement have gone back into society, but with a new head. We're still working to replace and reform institutions."

Liberal Activists

Claassen says that of those he knew in the Movement, one group is "into the helping professions, like probation and parole, social work, and guidance counseling. Another group has become artisans and farmers, who have dropped any idea of success in traditional terms. Then there's the group of very boring professors. And finally there were a lot of liberal activists who have joined the Federal bureaucracy—becoming precisely the kind of people they were screaming at a few years ago."

Paul Levitt, chairman of the University of Colorado's English Department, sees an evolution from the counterculture movement to a "new romanticism." "Much of it comes from a suspicion of language," he contends. "You see students now with a working vocabulary of about 200 words. They can neither talk nor write, and much of this return to nature, as with the classical romanticists, is a retreat from the usage of language."

Ecologists Ride Highest

He sees the one-time student activists now becoming among the best in-

structors and assistant professors. "The competition is great. We had 1,400 applications for six positions this past year. These activists have transferred their considerable energies into scholarly projects, or to the ecology movement, which is an outgrowth of the new romanticism."

And it is the ecologists who are riding highest here. Gov. Richard Lamm's election in November was purely a victory for the ecological movement, and his staff of eager ecologists hears a clarion call to save this state's spectacular natural beauty from the forces of the drive for more energy-producing raw materials.

No Supply Mill

"A third of the land in the state is Federally controlled," says Jim Monaghan, the governor's earnest young assistant for ecology and energy. "We, the state, want to get into the decision-making process about how that land is to be used, where ski permits are to be issued, where superhighways are to be built. We'd like to limit growth now by applying the right Band-Aids to give us time to come up with visionary plans."

Monaghan speaks of ecology and energy issues in black-and-white terms and has been identified with the environmental movement since 1969. "I decided then that was where my energies would go," he explains. His feeling, and that of many of the new governor's staff, is that the people here do not want Colorado to become the nation's energy supply mill, particularly at the expense of its environmental beauty.

Another cut of new politician is exemplified by Sam Brown, the newly elected state treasurer, who campaigned more for banking reform than ecology. Brown was one of the three co-ordinators of the nationally successful Vietnam moratorium demonstration in 1969. "The war was the divisive issue," he says. "Increasingly all things and all people are getting back together. There were places I couldn't even have dreamed of going five years ago, but during my campaign I not only went there, but received endorsements and money. I mean the building-trade unions, the Denver Labor Federation, the AFL-CIO's COPE. The old hostilities are gone. I had Hunter Thompson and Dick Tuck attend fund raisers for me in Aspen, and I had the support of the old Humphrey people. You know, in the last eight years there has even been a 'good-ole-boy' network built among radical-liberal activists."

From SDS to the Fed

Brown contends that the only young people who were truly alienated during the antiwar movement were those with "an excessive true believer's zeal. Oh sure, you see the alienated rich kids just bumming around in Aspen, but most people who were offended by the war in a fundamental sense that was short of complete alienation are still around and working. I've a friend who was a Students for a Democratic Society organizer and is now with the Fed [Federal Reserve Bank] in New York City. And you still see a lot of people trying to organize neighborhoods to handle their own problems."

The high enthusiasm here seems restricted to the newly elected officials and their ecology-movement backers. And that movement, even here, is beginning to attract increasing numbers of critics. "The environmental movement started out as an altruistic movement, as part of the over-all counterculture," says sociologist Higman. "But it has turned toward selfishness. The driving force isn't the ultimate good of the people but rather that of self-interest."

Many strong adherents of the counterculture have become successful businessmen. James Spray, a 27-year-old graduate student, has opened a catering service that has been highly successful. "I'm accused by some of my friends from five years ago of having sold out," he says. "But I believe that you have to work within the system. I've learned to handle conflict with compromise."

The Necessity of Work

Spray adds: "Everyone is into something different now, and with the exception of the ecologists, the individual efforts are greatly fragmented. More and more you hear people talking about survival. They either don't have the interest or the time for causes."

Henry Fairlie, a British journalist and author of *The Kennedy Promise*, who now lives in Boulder, plans to write a book about the Movement, the counterculture. He contends its cohesive force was the draft, and that once the draft was terminated the grand impression of a counterculture no longer existed. "But the people in the counterculture learned from their experiences," he says. "They—and even their younger brothers—learned that work is terribly necessary and even satisfying. The whole idea of perpetual play is boring now."

There has been a debate about whether a genuine counterculture ever existed. Gordon Hewes, a University of Colorado anthropology professor, is convinced it did. He says there are different theories about countercultures: "One theory is that a subculture has always existed, pulling together threads from such as the witchcraft of the peasants through the centuries to the Bohemians and the beatniks. Another is the disjunctive theory that holds that a sub- or counterculture crops up from time to time. But this counterculture did have all of the trappings—dance, music, clothes, vegetarianism, among other things. It didn't have time to generate its own architecture, though a few geodesic domes were built."

The Next Winnebago

The blue-denim uniform of the Movement has been assumed by Madison Avenue clothiers, and many other elements have similarly been assimilated. "It is to be expected," says Hewes. "Now you can find longhairs who are politically conservative but in all other respects are representative of the counterculture. A carpenter may wear long hair, be a member of the AFL, write confidential letters to Oui or Playboy, smoke dope, but yet vote for Nixon."

Adds young Corrigan: "Too many people have picked up on the values of our culture like the necessity for creature comforts. I think the greatest concern of most people I know is who will get the next Winnebago. But that fits right in with the new popularity of downers and booze."

Lesson 8

"Have-nots In Revolt"

During the 1960's a picture painted by many commentators of American society showed a condition of bipolarity. Around one pole clustered the white majority of America's population; around the other were the oppressed blacks. This model of society has shifted as change mandated by legislation or court action as well as a number of other developments have brought a substantial number of blacks into the middle class. According to many, the new model of society and indeed the world, still echoes the theme of bipolarity only this time we find at the extreme polar positions the "haves" and the "have-nots."

The interview between Observer staff Writer Michael Putney and Imamu Amiri Baraka (formerly Leroi Jones) examines this transition in social thought. It introduces the reader to a highly Marxist interpretation and analysis of contemporary American society. It would serve as an excellent introduction or supplement to a unit in a sociology course on Karl Marx and/or social theory. Assign "Have-nots In Revolt" The National Observer, March 15, 1975, for student reading.

OBJECTIVE:

Students will infer from this article the Marxist model of society. Students will test this model's usefulness by applying it as a tool of social analysis. As a subsidiary objective students will also probe the role of art and the artist in society.

VOCABULARY:

pluralistic society
self determination
empiricism
ideology
petite bourgeoisie
"new left"
bourgeois consciousness
bipolarity

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignment:

1. The U. S. has always had its share of "haves" and "have-nots." Why does Imamu Baraka feel that the U. S. is ripe for a revolution now?

2. Many historians have asserted that America's ability to avert revolution has been our nation's flexibility. The ability to change, reform and to correct injustices has staved off the need for a revolutionary upheaval which would overturn our political, economic and social institutions. Would you agree with this viewpoint? If so, use historical examples to support this. If not, use past events to demonstrate its lack of truth.

3. What do you believe to be the function or purpose of art? How does your viewpoint contrast with the position that Imamu Baraka takes on art and its role in society?

B. After having discussed the article, any of these more advanced activities could also be implemented:

1. Role Playing: Conduct a debate between an individual playing the role of Imamu Baraka and one playing the role of a wealthy industrialist.

2. Draw a diagram or picture of American society that would be representative of the way in which Imamu Baraka describes it.

3. Examine the 1936 Constitution of the U. S. S. R. to see what provisions it makes concerning art. Compare and contrast contemporary examples of Soviet, Chinese and American art.

4. Apply the Marxist model as articulated by Imamu Baraka to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Does this model correctly explain the causes and conduct of this revolution?

5. What hints does Imamu Baraka give concerning the kind of society that would follow the revolution of the "have-nots" against the "haves?" Compare Baraka's hints with contemporary Soviet or Chinese society.

A Black Leader Foresees an America With . . .

Have-Nots in Revolt

IMAMU AMIRI BARAKA was born Leroi Jones in Newark, N.J., 40 years ago. He gained his reputation first as a jazz critic, then as a poet and playwright. *Dutchman*, an angry one-act confrontation between a white slut and a black intellectual, won the Obie as the best American play of the 1963-64 season. Soon after, his dramas turned darker, then became firmly antiwhite. His art became polemical and its message one of black separation, black liberation.

Baraka returned to Newark, where he was arrested during the 1967 rioting for illegally possessing two pistols. Convicted and sentenced to three years in prison, he was retried and acquitted. He became politically active in Newark and nationally as secretary-general of the National Black Political Convention and chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People. He recently astounded and angered some of his followers by coming out as a follower of Marx, Lenin, and Mao. Staff Writer Michael Putney recently met with Baraka at his Newark headquarters and talked with him about that turnabout and other things.

In 1968 the Kerner Commission predicted that America was headed toward two societies, one black and one white. Do you think that has happened? Or have we headed toward a society of haves and have-nots?

I think the latter. It *was* a society of white and black. But what I think the commission was trying to do was put the onus for the problem on racism. And that was really a trick because we believe that the onus is on the economic system. But we do feel that all the people in this country—the white people, the blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexicans, the Indians, the Asiatics—all the people are finally going to be the ones to benefit from this total kind of society we see. We feel that when people talk about a pluralistic society that one day it is going to be a pluralistic society in the real sense where everybody will have the democratic right of self-determination.

In the '60s we came as close to having war in the streets as we've come since the Civil War. Do you see the likelihood of an armed revolution in this country?

Oh, absolutely. Having had the experience of the civil-rights movement, the black-power movement, where we had to get beat up to eat a hot dog at Woolworth's, where we got sprayed with water hoses trying to integrate swimming pools, or you had to actually fight people to sit in movies or go to the skating rink. And I'm not talking about Georgia, I'm talking about Newark. Then what will it be like when people get the consciousness that they should control Standard Oil, not Rockefeller? Or that the people should control Chrysler and General Motors, not the DuPonts? Will there be a revolution in this country? Oh yes, absolutely.

You've been a black liberal, a black radical, a black separatist, and now you're into "scientific socialism" and what you call Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought. What is it?

Basically, it says this: Capitalism, because of its internal contradictions, will produce a class of people that will destroy it. Everything has contradictions, which is dialectics, and capitalism has one very profound kind of contradiction: The contradiction between the public nature of labor—that is, you have to use the masses to work—but the money that's made from the labor, the profit, is appropriated privately. And by a very few. The rest of us have to spend our lives laboring and we don't own anything. The only thing we own is our ability to work. And if you can't work, you're out of luck.

By espousing Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought, are you repudiating black nationalism?

A New York Times article recently made it look like we have absolutely no use for black nationalism, but we still consider ourselves part of the black-liberation movement. It's simply that we understand that black people cannot be liberated as long as capitalism exists. And what we have repudiated is a kind of narrow nationalism that ascribed oppression to all whites.

So the question is one of class, not race?

Right. We are trying to make a class analysis now, which we see as the principal analysis for the struggle. But we're not eliminating the fact that black people do suffer from oppression, and that national oppression issues from the capitalistic system.

In an essay in Black Scholar, "A Black Value System," you wrote that "when we call white people evil it is based on empiricism, not theory." Would you stand by that statement now, or has your point of view changed?

It's changed because empiricism is obviously limited: I think the problem is that we experience national oppression but we don't always link that national oppression and that experience of it to capitalism, which is causing it. That is, if we're beaten up by a white policeman we tend to say that all whites are that way. Or if we see the majority of white people tending to live better than the majority of black people, then we attribute our wholesale oppression to all whites, regardless of their class background.

And that's a critical error, because the masses of white people who work, many of them, have been bribed and ricked. Like the people of Boston who have been tricked into believing hat fighting with blacks is going to improve their education, and it turns out that both those schools, the one in Roxbury and the one in South Boston, are lousy. But the majority of whites who work are exploited by the same system. And that, I think, is the critical development in our ideology.

Well, how are the people whom you think are exploited going to wrest some of the control and the profits from the system?

By revolution. That's the only certain way that socialism will come to our society. That is, when the masses of people, the great working mass which capitalism produces, propertyless wage earners, and these are the very people who will destroy it. When these masses of people will no longer accept the system as it is and the system reaches a crisis where it can no longer govern as it used to, then that is the point at which revolution is made.

How close are we to being at that point?

I don't think we're very far. I don't think we can play the numbers game, but I think if you'll just go back 10 years ago to 1964 and run through your mind the kind of things that have happened since 1964—from Kennedy No. 1 to Kennedy No. 2 to Malcolm to Martin Luther King to Portuguese colonialism. And now you've got Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola being liberated, Lyndon Johnson thrown out of office, Nixon thrown out of office, Rockefeller as Vice President. I mean, in 10 years we've had such a rapid-fire succession of events that 25 years in this particular epic that we're in is going to see huge changes throughout the world.

In a pamphlet you wrote for a recent meeting of the Congress of Afrikan People, you wrote that your mission is "to relate our philosophy to the day-to-day struggle for existence in the city." In terms of your work here in Newark, what does that mean?

In Newark one of the key areas is housing. I guess if you take a quick trip through this city, which Harper's magazine said is the worst city in the United States, you see an issue like housing draws the attention of not just Marxist-Leninists, but of the masses of people. And so then in our struggle to try to build housing we begin to point out to a lot of people that the reason that there is no housing here is because it doesn't make a profit for the people who control the wealth. They only do things in this society that make profit, not benefit the people. That's why you have a city like Newark. So actually Newark is like a classic classroom to teach socialism because here in the wealthiest society in the world, bar none, we are in the bottom of the barrel right here.

But how amenable are the people of Newark—or other people in other cities that suffer from ills like Newark's—how amenable are they to being students in a classroom of socialism?

I think that the only problem with the masses of people responding to socialism is the people who are supposed to bring Socialist theory to them. I think there will be no great problem bringing Socialist theory to the masses. If you remember, in the '60s black people tried to burn the United States down. We had rebellion after rebellion: Harlem, Watts, Detroit, Newark. So I don't think anybody's going to get scared because you point out a scientific method to the masses of people for seizing power from the few that control the system now.

A professor at Rutgers named Ross Case, whose specialty is black politics, wrote in the Washington Post last January that "black nationalism is tailored to hard times." Do you think that's true?

Not especially. Nationalism is a particular phase that people go through. Nations go through nationalism depending on the degree of penetration of capitalism. For us, black nationalism was something that we had to historically pass through. We had to come to the consciousness of ourselves as an oppressed nation of people. At the end of the '60s we reached that consciousness when we went through our "Black is Beautiful" phase, we got to the black-power phase, and then suddenly after seeing the black [political] caucus and black ambassadors and blacks on the boards of multinational corporations and black movie stars and black athletes and black mayors, then we began to realize that what had been created was not black liberation but a middle class, a narrow class of blacks that has increased the visibility of blacks within the capitalist system but has not done anything for the masses.

These people whom you mention have simply been subsumed into the system as far as you're concerned?

Oh yes, absolutely, they're just part of it. They form our *petite bourgeoisie*, our middle class. They're smaller, of course, than the national bourgeoisie, the white folks, but they're all we have. We're an oppressed nation, so our middle class is a little weaker and a little shakier. Still, their objective interests vary from the masses'.

Is that equally true in Newark, where blacks are in the majority?

In Newark we have this black bureaucratic elite. We've got black from wall to wall down at city hall. You know, a black mayor, black police chief, black superintendent of schools, black board of education, blacks in city hospitals, and so on. But still, as Harper's magazine says, it's the worst city in the United States. Why? Because essentially the system has not changed. The only thing that's changed is that we've put some black faces in high places. But we haven't done anything to change the essential nature, the structure of the system, and so it goes on.

Then you think the blacks who took over here are no better than the whites who preceded them?

No. Look, they can be anything they want to be—they can be kind, they can be happy, they can be anything. The fact is that the system has not changed. It's like going into a room and there's something dead in there that stinks and there are white people in there conducting a guided tour. Then black people get the job conducting the tour and part of their job is to tell you that it doesn't stink. But it *still* stinks.

When did the pictures of Lenin, Marx, and Mao join those of [Guinea leader] Sekou Toure, Malcolm X, and other black leaders here in your headquarters?

It was in '74 sometime, the summertime or fall.

The fact that their pictures are here and that your philosophy has shifted to incorporate them has been compared to being as significant as Malcolm returning from Mecca and telling his followers that the white man is not inherently evil. Do you think the analogy is apt?

Malcolm, it's said, received that revelation from going to Mecca and seeing orthodox Muslims, and obviously there are white Muslims just as there are white Christians and black Christians. But I think Malcolm, too, was coming to the point where he realized that religion per se was not going to be the liberating factor in our lives. Because when he put together the Muslim Mosque he said that your religion has to be separate; do your religion at home. Our feeling is that too. We feel that it's a political struggle and that perhaps our change is as significant as Malcolm's. It will come out to be similar, even though Malcolm had not got to Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought. But I think that is the obvious next step in the black-liberation movement.

Like Malcolm, I understand, you're having some trouble with your followers since you stopped making antiwhite statements and started espousing "scientific socialism."

In late '73, when we were going through some intense ideological discussions, when we were making that move, two of the people on the council resigned. But there's always ideological struggle in the organization. That's the basis for development.

You've been influenced by the writings of Amilcar Cabral, the revolutionary. Who was he?

Cabral was the secretary-general of the PAIGC, which was the party which led the people of Guinea-Bissau to their liberation, to the defeat of Portuguese colonialism. He was assassinated in Guinea, in Conakry, I think, in February 1972, and we had met with him when he was there. It was his essay "The Weapon of Theory" that really led us to understand how an African revolutionary could make use of Marxist theory without losing any kind of

relationship to the African revolution. Because that was always our bias—that somehow if you got involved with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought you'd have to turn white and lose your relationship to the struggle. Which is what I suppose a lot of people are accusing us of. But quite the contrary. I think we'll find a way to contribute more to the struggle.

In that same essay of yours I quoted earlier you also wrote: "We do not want what Marx wanted or Abbie Hoffman wants. We want our new black selves as absolute masters of our space."

That's an incorrect kind of term. Again, we say that our problem with Marxism has too often been the kind of people who purport to carry it. And a lot of those people—the Abbie Hoffmans, the [Jerry] Rubins, a lot of those people in the so-called New Left of the '60s—a lot of those people are now hanging out with the gurus and into drugs. And I knew then that's where they were going. I could see that then.

You began your career as an artist, a painter and writer. What is the role of an artist in a Socialist state?

The guiding kind of philosophy in society must be what contributes to the greatest good for the masses of people. That has to be the overriding philosophy. The artist suffers from the extreme kind of bourgeois consciousness because in a society of individuals . . . the artist fancies himself the most individualistic of all. But in the end, most of the artists in the society merely serve the interest of the capitalists. I mean, they're painting soup cans or shooting balloons off people's heads that are full of paint and calling it an event. All they're doing is titillating the consciousness of a bourgeois society, and we happen to feel that art has to serve the people. It has to be a real contribution to people's lives on this planet.

Nicolas Guillen, the president of the Cuban Writers Union, has said that "a writer who uses his talent in a nonrevolutionary way is like a soldier in wartime who uses his rifle to hunt ducks." Do you agree?

Yeah, that's about it. A lot of this garbage that comes out in the films and on TV is detrimental. For instance, there's a new TV show called *The Jeffersons*, a black thing where you've got black folks now with a maid.

Do you think a show like *The Jeffersons* reinforces stereotypes? That it's unhealthy?

It undermines society. It does two things: First, it tells the black middle class that it's all right for you to have an exploitive relationship with the masses of black people. It's all right, you can laugh and joke with them, you can even hire one as a maid. On the other hand, it's telling the black masses, the maids and so forth, that the black middle class is still your friend, even though they're going to have this exploitive relationship with you. They're still your "brother" and "sister." To me, that's undermining.

Then how do you feel about Archie Bunker?

Does the white working class really want to see itself as Archie Bunker? Is that all the masses of working people think they are? Some kind of dude like Archie Bunker? It undermines the whole quality of human life. Look, you're a writer. Stop and think what the arts could be used for. The potential is incredible.

But why should they be used for anything? I'm reminded of a line from Auden's "In Memory of W. B. Yeats" where he said, "For poetry makes nothing happen: It survives/In the valley of its making where executives/ Would never want to tamper." But in your scheme art must have a purpose?

Absolutely.

No art for art's sake?

None. That's a classic bourgeois thought, art as nothing but an artifact for executives. But that is what the bourgeois reduces art to, and the bourgeois artist willingly serves that end. Sartre said something profound about art. He said that if you create a play and you don't identify the source of tragedy in the play, it's "mysterious" or "ambiguous." But if you identify the sources of tragedy and point your finger at them, then that's "social commentary" and nobody likes that.

Some famous artists have devoted their lives to politics. I think of John Milton, who spent the middle 30 years of his life writing political pamphlets and tracts and then wrote *Paradise Lost* as an old and blind man. Do you ever think that at some point you may go back to writing in the sense that you wrote in the '50s and '60s?

No, because even in the '50s and '60s I was still writing what disturbed a lot of people, calling a lot of people names, accusing people of this and that. Now I think my activism is my principal activity. The writing is simply a support for the activism. I'm glad that I know how to write, that I can write quickly. It's a very useful skill in terms of the struggle.

PSYCHOLOGY

Lesson 9

"Pawns In A Pill Game"

In the 1950's the application of psychotropic drugs to the treatment of the critically retarded or mentally disturbed was hailed as the greatest single therapeutic discovery of the twentieth century. Authorities in this field frequently cite the psychotropic drugs as being the causative factor in drastically reducing the number of patients in mental hospitals. These drugs have made it possible to put many of the people who would have been locked away in large state hospitals twenty years ago back into society. Such people need only report periodically as out-patients to their neighborhood mental health center for their medication and ongoing evaluation. Those who have worked in state mental institutions note the drastic climatic change within the hospitals. They frequently cite the decline of violence, noise and bizarre behavior among the patients since drug therapy has become a standard operating procedure in most mental institutions.

Yet, in the past several years a significant body of criticism has grown in response to the widespread use of psychotropic drugs. This critical reaction has been particularly strong in relation to the use of drug therapy for the treatment of the mentally retarded. As an introduction to this critical reaction have your students read "Pawns In A Pill Game," The National Observer, February 11, 1975.

OBJECTIVE:

The principal objective of this assignment is to have the students probe a critical issue in the treatment of the mentally retarded.

VOCABULARY:

cognitive efficiency
itching foot syndrome
psychopharmacology
sedatives
F. D. A.
Parkinsonism
tardive dyskinsea
psychotropic
class-action law-suit

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What are some of the "paradoxical by-products" of the psychotropic drugs?

2. Reiterate the major arguments against the current usage of psychotropic drugs in treating the mentally retarded and/or mentally ill.

3. In the article, Gunnar Dybwad makes the following statement: "What we've done is supplant mechanical restraints...with chemical restraints. And this is even more vicious because you can't see it." Explain this quote. Based on what you have learned from reading this article, would you agree with Gunnar Dybwad?

4. The article hints at an ethical question involved in the manner in which the drug companies sell drugs to mental institutions. Explain the case made against the drug companies.

B. Using "Pawns In A Pill Game" as a foundation, the following activities may be assigned:

1. In the past twenty years much has been written concerning use and/or abuse of psychotropic drugs. For the purposes of a classwide debate assign members of the class the responsibility of preparing either the case for or against the use of psychotropic drugs. Likewise, position papers could be assigned on this subject.

2. In recent years controversial issues relating to the care and treatment of the mentally disturbed have spilled over into the courts. Using the cases mentioned in the article as a point of departure, students could research other cases where the courts have intervened in this area.

3. The topic with which this article deals offers some unusually good opportunities for the student to investigate some community resources. Students could prepare interview questions on the topic of drug therapy and then go out into the community and interview any or all of the following: officials at local mental health centers or hospitals, neighborhood physicians, drug company officials or representatives, psychiatric nurses or others who work in this field. If oral interviews are not feasible, letters could be written on this subject to any of the above. Also, the teacher could arrange for one or more of the above-mentioned resource persons to come into the classroom as a guest speaker or for a panel discussion.

Pawns in a Pill Game

By Lawrence Mosher
FROM BELCHERTOWN, MASS.

BUILDING F, Belchertown State School, typifies how most of this country's institutionalized mentally retarded live. Two dorms sleep 20 each, barracks-style. The "day room" is a sterile, high-ceilinged hall equipped with benches, a few tables, and a raised television set mounted behind a steel-mesh screen. An attendant turns the TV and lights on in the morning, off at night.

The noise level is incredible. "Clients" move about aimlessly. When a visitor enters, they cling to him in garbled, sad, desperate pleas for human contact. Others sit on the benches, staring at the TV, or drowse face-down on the tables. The front door is always locked.

Of Building F's 40 residents, 14 are drugged once to three times a day with potent tranquilizers.

Building E, next door, looks just like Building F, but inside things are different. Mahogany-veneer partitions create a "living room" and a number of "bedrooms" for two to four persons. The living room is furnished with a carpet, comfortable couches and chairs, paintings, an unprotected TV and stereo, and table lamps that the residents can turn on and off themselves.

Although the residents of both buildings have similar problems — indeed, as moderately to severely retarded adults they once were all housed together—the people in Building E don't behave at all like those in Building F. The front door is not locked, and there is considerable coming and going. Some residents are in class; others are at a workshop; a few are out taking a walk. None clings to the visitor to beg for attention.

Only 3 of Building E's 41 residents are drugged once to three times a day with potent tranquilizers.

"A lot of the aggressive behavior seems to drop right out when we move a resident to E from F," Paul Durland, a staff unit director, explains. "And the way the staff perceives and treats the residents changes too. In Building F they go out for their coffee break to get away, but in Building E they have their coffee with the residents."

'We're going to have to break what has come to be an acceptable pattern of putting people off in institutions and then drugging them to keep them quiet.'

—WILLIAM F. JONES, *superintendent, Belchertown State School*

Belchertown's two contrasting buildings symbolize a rebellion of attitudes that is beginning to challenge state mental-health establishments throughout the country. The emerging attitude holds that retarded people are not, by definition, hopeless. It holds that humanizing their *maddeningly* mind-dulling environment can change their behavior. And it adamantly insists that the current overwhelming reliance on such behavior-controlling drugs as Thorazine and Mellaril need not be the *sine qua non* of American institutional care.

Yet that reliance on tranquilizers now haunts the nation's nearly 200 institutions and their 200,000 adult and juvenile inmates. A 1967 survey conducted by Ronald S. Lipman, a psychologist at the National Institute for Mental Health, found that 51 per cent of the residents of 109 responding state and private institutions were regularly being administered psychotropic (mind-controlling) drugs. Thirty-nine per cent of these residents were on "major" tranquilizers, mainly Thorazine and Mellaril, two members of the potent phenothiazine family of antipsychotic prescription drugs.

Even more disturbing to Lipman was his finding that the *typical* duration of medication for a quarter of those on Thorazine and Mellaril was four years to "indefinite," a term the responding institutions chose to use. "One cannot help but wonder how rational a basis there is for the 'indefinite' usage of this drug," he wrote. "My synthesis of the literature," Lipman concluded, "is that the sedative phenothiazines are effective in improving the behavior of the 'acting-out' child, but—probably—at the price of reduced alertness and cognitive efficiency."

Many drugs have harmful side effects

whose risks prescribing doctors must weigh against the drug's expected benefit. The trade off is often difficult to assess, and sometimes the patient is better served by forgoing the drug. Such is the nature of the problem concerning the prescription of the phenothiazine tranquilizers to the mentally retarded.

Possible short-term adverse reactions among the principal phenothiazines include Parkinsonism, chemical hepatitis, itching-foot syndrome (the inability to sit still), blurred vision, nausea, and drowsiness. More worrisome are the impairment of learning ability and the development of a long-term reaction called tardive dyskinesia.

Tardive dyskinesia can appear after lengthy, high-dosage drug therapy. Its victim may suffer uncontrollable movements of the tongue, face, hands, or feet. He may pucker his mouth, stick out his tongue, or chew on nothing. There is no known cure. Worse still, the symptoms persist after the drug is withdrawn. Sometimes they're irreversible.

Suppression of Learning

The primary concern about using these drugs on the mentally retarded, however, is whether phenothiazine impairs learning ability and intellectual performance. Seven years ago Lipman asked for evidence to justify the use of "sedative phenothiazines" as the drugs of choice for the mentally retarded, noting that over 75 per cent of the published research in this area was initially financed by drug companies. The evidence is still lacking.

"What is clear," writes Robert L. Sprague, director of the University of Illinois' Children's Research Center and a specialist in psychopharmacology, "is that psychotropic drugs are used heavily. It is equally apparent that the main problem of the mentally retarded is slow learning, and that their behavioral problems are all too often handled by administering large amounts of tranquilizing drugs that have as one of their characteristics suppression of learning.

"Thus the mentally retarded are often placed in institutions for treatment where social stimulation is reduced, where treatment with tranquilizing drugs that suppress learning is administered in large amounts, and where it is expected that these combinations should produce new skills that will enable them to become rehabilitated members of the community." Sprague adds that current phenothiazine usage "outstrips what the data indicate as useful" by more than 50 per cent.

Drug Usage Criticized

Gunnar Dybwad, a world authority in the social-service field and a former executive director of the National Association for Retarded Citizens (NARC), puts it more bluntly: "What we've done is supplant mechanical restraint [strait jackets and solitary confinement] with chemical restraint. And this is even more vicious because you can't see it. The point I make is not that these drugs are used, but the way they are used." Dybwad, 65, teaches at Brandeis University's Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare.

Growing concern about the motivations behind current drug usage was the stimulus for a state-wide survey of Massachusetts' five institutions for the retarded two years ago. The state's top mental-retardation official, Lewis B. Klebanoff, concluded that "control of undesirable behavior is by far the preferred purpose of use." Klebanoff noted that "undesirable" could mean anything from "psychotic behavior and severely disturbed states to simply undisciplined, fractious behavior that can result from lack of any training, boredom, and frustration—all common enough conditions in institutional settings."

"Management, rather than stimulation and development of the residents, becomes a desirable goal," Klebanoff found, when institutions are overcrowded, understaffed, and underequipped. "We must get our psychopharmacological programs under some kind of control," he concluded.

If Medicine Can't, Law Will

Dr. James D. Clements, president of the American Association for Mental Deficiency (AAMD), is another critic of what he calls the "general drug abuse" in our institutions. The AAMD is a national professional group, as NARC is a national lay group. Clements, a 43-year-old pediatrician, is director of the Georgia Retardation Center, a state institution with facilities in Atlanta and Athens.

"When you start sedating people and lessening the height of their consciousness," says Clements, "then you get into a dangerous situation, particularly with children. In the development of our intellectual capacities we get what we are going to get by the time we reach 21. If you're sleepy most of the time, you're obviously not going to develop very well. You are really losing intellectual capacity, and this is as true for retarded persons as it is for you and me."

The question of "drug abuse" turns on difficult medical and ethical judgments. But, as recent Federal-court cases are demonstrating, if the medical and allied professions can't handle it, the courts will. The Constitution's Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments (respectively prohibiting cruel and unusual punishment and guaranteeing due process and equal protection of the law) are fast becoming vehicles for change in this area as they already have in others.

Federal Judge Frank Johnson, who made civil-rights history in Alabama in the 1960s, did it again in 1971 in a landmark case *(Wyatt v. Stickney)* involving an Alabama institution for the retarded. Persons involuntarily committed for mental deficiencies "unquestionably have a Constitutional right to receive such individual treatment as will give each of them a realistic opportunity to be cured or to improve his or her mental condition," declared Johnson.

In 1974 a Federal judge in Minnesota, Earl R. Larson, took the Wyatt case a step further. "Excessive use of tranquilizing medication as a means of controlling behavior, not merely as a part of therapy, may likewise infringe plaintiffs' rights," the judge wrote. The case involved Minnesota's Cambridge State Hospital, which allegedly gave 70 per cent of its residents tranquilizers "as a substitute for programs or as a means of simply restraining the residents to compensate for staff shortages."

Some experts, such as Alberto DiMascio, director of psychopharmacology at Massachusetts' mental-health agency, argue that controlling behavior can be appropriate therapy. "Management of behavior is not of and by itself bad," he says. "Mentally retarded persons do not have just one incapacitation or lowered intellectual level. They have a wide variety of symptomatology, including delusions, hallucinations, and other psychotic manifestations. Some are highly anxious, and some are depressed. You've got to be able to deal with these."

DiMascio tends to dismiss institutional environment as a significant cause of inappropriate behavior. Drugs treat the symptom, not the cause, he says. "We have the feeling that these drugs are being overprescribed, but no one has ever documented inappropriate usage." DiMascio also notes that there has been no definitive research showing long-term impairment of learning.

Part of the confusion concerning the proper role of phenothiazines in institutions for the mentally retarded arises from the drug's paradoxical qualities. As Dr. Solomon H. Snyder describes them in his book, *Madness and the Brain*, these drugs "are not merely sedatives to ease the patient of restless, hyperanxious activity, or, more to the point, to ease his custodian by essentially bludgeoning the patient into semiconsciousness."

Synthesized by a German chemist in 1880, phenothiazine was first used for worm infections. In the 1940s a French surgeon used an antihistamine form as a preoperative adjunct to anesthesia. The drug appeared to reduce apprehension without causing dislocation, which made it possible to use less anesthesia, thus lessening the danger of death by anesthesia-induced shock. In 1952 another form, chlorpromazine, was found to be effective with schizophrenics. Within two years it became the drug of choice all over the world for treating schizophrenia and other psychotic disorders. In this country the drug was marketed by Smith Kline & French Laboratories under the brand name Thorazine.

Visits by 'Detail Men'

Now dozens of brands are actively promoted by drug-company "detail men" who call on institutions for the mentally retarded as well as mental hospitals and doctors' offices. At the Hamburg State School and Hospital in Pennsylvania, for example, the visitors' register shows 35 individual visits by detail men during a five-month period in 1974. The most active phenothiazine promoters were Sandoz Pharmaceuti-

cals (makers of Mellaril and Serentil), Merck Sharp & Dohme (Triavil), and Smith Kline & French Laboratories (Thorazine, Stelazine).

The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has approved these drugs as safe and effective in treating psychotic disorders and certain other, nonpsychiatric conditions. But the question remains, what about an institutionalized mentally retarded person who is not psychotic? His or her *manifestations* may look like schizophrenia or mania but may only be the frustrated outpourings of a dim mind trapped in a handicapped body.

Dr. Steven R. Kanner, the new medical-services director for Massachusetts' five institutions for the mentally retarded, says the problem lies with the prescribing doctors, not the drugs. "We have a high proportion of doctors who aren't very competent, and this is the fundamental problem." Consequently, the inmates' medical records are meaningless, says Kanner, who also holds a master's degree in business administration from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

'Two Light Years Away'

"I know these drugs are used as sedatives, but what I don't know is whether these drugs are used totally without indication. What it would take to find out is an adequate medical staff, good support service, and a functioning data system. But we're two light years away from that."

At the prodding of Sen. John W. Olver, chairman of the state Special Legislative Commission on Mental Retardation, Kanner in 1974 conducted a survey of phenothiazine usage in his five "schools." He found the drug was administered to 33 per cent of all inmates, with a high of 59 per cent and a low of 20 per cent among the schools. But without competent matching diagnoses and other data dealing with dosage, response, and duration of drugging, it is still difficult to prove inappropriate or abusive drug use.

The clear implication, however, is that there is widespread drug abuse. At the Hamburg State School and Hospital, considered the worst in the state by the Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Citizens, doctors estimate that less than 10 per cent of their 800 residents are psychotic as well as retarded. Yet four doctors queried about their use of the phenothiazines reported an average 65 per cent utilization rate.

One of the doctors is an osteopath fresh from St. Louis with no background in psychiatry or treating mental deficiency. Another is a graduate of the University of St. Thomas in the Philippines who has never been licensed by the state. Another is a retired thoracic surgeon who says, "When I turned 65 nobody wanted me, but I was fortunate enough to run into the superintendent here."

A neurosurgeon at the nearby Hershey Medical Center says the Hamburg situation "bothers the hell out of me. The state runs a kind of blank check book for these drugs. If the institution can't get more staff, it *can* get more drugs, and so they shower their patients with them."

What really stirs critics is the active drug-company promotion at these institutions. Hamburg's Dr. Antonio Garcia describes the detail men's role this way: "They come into our medical library and explain the advantages their products have over the others. They talk about price, how the drug is administered, whether you just have to give one dose or four a day. Sandoz is very active and pushes Mellaril a lot. They know a lot of our kids are on Mellaril, and they come around to remind us about it."

A Question of Ethics

Both Sandoz and Smith Kline & French deny that promoting their products at institutions for the retarded raises a question of ethics. "We think that ethically promoting these products contributes to their proper use and helps to prevent abuse," says Alan Wachter, a Smith Kline & French spokesman. "We are ethically promoting these products based on labeling approved by the FDA."

Dr. Craig Burrell of Sandoz, responding in a five-page letter, writes that "no thinking person (or organization) would feel that it is ethically right to give someone any type of chemical merely for the convenience of those looking after a charge of the state." But Burrell also sees no ethical issue concerning current promotion practices.

"We do not promote Mellaril outside areas where it is indicated. We see no conflict with ethics when we promote, where appropriate, a preparation to help sick people better adapt to the environment in which they must perforce live. By helping eliminate self-abuse, hostility, and excessive aggression, we are at least helping these deprived patients to live and function better in the society in which they exist and to which they are virtually condemned to be able to contribute nothing."

But is the situation hopeless, or reversible? One answer is developing here at Belchertown. Three years ago Benjamin and Virginia Ricci, whose retarded son, Robert, is a Belchertown inmate, filed a class-action Federal lawsuit against the state. They won a consent decree that is now turning Belchertown State School upside down.

The *Ricci v. Greenblatt* case (Dr. Milton Greenblatt, a psychiatrist, is the former state assistant commissioner for mental retardation) has already forced the state to spend $2.6 million on "humanizing" renovations, such as the refurbishing of Building E. Belchertown's annual budget of $7 million got an additional $5 million for the hiring of 144 new staff members. Another $2 million is going into improved community services to enable more residents to live noninstitutional lives. Significantly, Belchertown's 1974 phenothiazine drug-utilization rate of 20 per cent was the lowest of the five state institutions.

Ricci, who teaches at the University of Massachusetts, now talks about how he was once part of the problem. For years the Riccis, like many other parents of retarded children, never questioned the system. Then, during a nine-month sabbatical in Scandinavia in 1971, they "saw how the Scandinavians treated their retarded, like human beings!"

Attack on Phenothiazine

"Here I was defending this damn administration," Ricci now explains. "I thought the conditions just couldn't be that bad. Then I began to investigate. I saw cockroaches scurry across the faces of bedridden residents, and I began to wonder why we didn't practice euthanasia—or do something right for a change."

Another, broader avenue of attack is coming from the Mental Health Law Project in Washington, D.C. With the donated help of a large Washington law firm, Hogan & Hartson, the group petitioned the FDA last July to stop what it calls the "dangerous, unapproved, and unwarranted use" of phenothiazine heavy tranquilizers in institutions for the mentally retarded.

The FDA says it plans to react to the Hogan & Hartson petition next month. The petition, prepared by David S. Tatel, specifically asks the FDA to require the drug companies to change the wording in their package inserts to advise doctors not to use these drugs on mentally retarded persons not diagnosed as psychotic. Another request would strike the term "disturbed children" from the list of indicated uses for Thorazine and Mellaril.

The petition also asks the FDA to investigate drug-company promotion of phenothiazines at institutions for the retarded. Drug companies spend some $1.2 billion a year for advertising and promotion, according to Scientific American magazine. This comes to $4,000 a doctor a year and is nearly four times what the drug companies spend each year for research and development.

Dr. Thomas Hayes of the FDA's Bureau of Drugs says his agency has already asked Sandoz Pharmaceuticals to modify the language in its package inserts for Serentil, which asserts that the drug is suitable for the treatment of "behavioral problems in mental deficiency." Hayes says he welcomes the Hogan & Hartson petition as "an opportunity to get this issue out into an open forum."

Whether action by the FDA can help solve the problem of drug abuse is unclear. It is one possible administrative remedy. But the real solution lies with the doctors, staff, and administrators of these institutions, and with how all Americans want to treat their mentally retarded.

"When there is an absence of good programing," says Belchertown's Jones, "the medical people are put in the position of having to control behavior. If the resident becomes violent, he can hurt himself or others. So this can bring on chemical restraint.

"But the underlying issue is the inadequacy of environment, which mitigates against people being normal or human. When there is no outlet for expression and physical activity, people regress. Then we use the drugs, which all too often are just Band-Aids to buy us more time."

Lesson 10

"Stress: The Enemy Within"

Stress is a basic and necessary part of human life and, therefore, is a component in the lives of all students. And yet, although necessary, stress frequently can lead to psychophysiological difficulties. Psychologists and physicians have historically related stress to everything from the common cold to mental illness. However, the relationship between stress and somatic and/or mental disorders has not been fully understood. Consequently, this subject has been an area of active medical and psychological research.

This article reviews the relationship between human physiology and stress noting current theories and research on this topic. The following lesson plan suggests a number of ways in which this article could be implemented in a psychology course. Assign for student reading, "Stress: The Enemy Within," The National Observer, February 8, 1975.

OBJECTIVE:

Students will gain a working knowledge of the complicated interrelationship between the mind, body and society.

VOCABULARY:

endemic
maladaptive response
hormones
homeostasis
adaptation energy
stimulus addiction
affluence
"fight or flight" mechanism
adrenal glands
general adaptation syndrome
ulcers
pecking order

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or as a written assignment:

1. What is the "fight or flight" response? Explain the physiology of this response. What does stress have to do with the "fight or flight" response?

2. In your opinion, why do humans have this innate physiological "fight or flight" response? Are there times when this response may be harmful to humans?

3. What are some of the physical and psychological disorders to which stress is believed to be related?

4. Summarize Selye's model or explanation of stress and his notion of adaptation energy. Use Selye's general adaptation syndrome to explain these behavioral phenomena: combat fatigue, nervous breakdown, depression and fainting when overly frightened or elated.

5. Explain the phenomenon of stimulus addiction.

6. What relationship might exist between affluence and stress? Why, in your opinion, are populations of affluent, industrialized societies more likely to be victims of stress?

B. The article may also be used as a point of departure for these more complicated assignments:

1. Examine the "Social Readjustment Rating Scale" developed by Drs. Holmes and Rahe. What is the one thing that all of these "43 Life Events" have in common? (Note: the instructor may have to guide the student to see that the common element in all of these events is change). Thought Question: Recognizing that we presently live in a complex, fast and everchanging society, what are the implications of Holmes and Rahe's model of stress for life in the future when society will probably be changing at an increasingly rapid rate? Is there some way in which society can insulate itself from the stress generated by change?

2. A great many of the people seeing private physicians, psychologists and/or psychiatrists are doing so due to stress related illnesses. Write a fictional case of one patient suffering from some stress related problem noting his or her case history and symptoms.

3. You are the therapist in the situation above. What would you recommend to your patient?

4. Keep a personal diary of the stressful experiences in your day-to-day life. Note the stressful situations and your response to it. Periodically review your diary making notations of how you might deal with such situations in the future.

5. Students may examine the following for further research on this subject:

M. Friedman, TYPE 'A' BEHAVIOR AND YOUR HEART.
Vance Packard, A NATION OF STRANGERS.
Alvin Toffler, FUTURE SHOCK (especially relevant to this topic is chapter 15).
J. V. Brady, "Ulcers in Executive Monkeys," SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, 199, (4), 95-100.

STRESS:
The Enemy Within

By Jim Hampton

MY WIFE is in the hospital, having just undergone painful surgery, and I am temporarily her ill-rehearsed stand-in. The house is not yet a total wreck, but only because I am becoming one. Run vacuum (amazing how pine needles reappear in absence of Christmas tree). Do laundry (remarkable how 18 children's socks yield no pairs). Cook dinner (make note to write Uncle Ben, tell him his rice burns easily). Help with homework (in new math, one old-math parent equals one idiot, indivisible). Tuck last child in bed. Call hospital, tell wife I fully understand her grim smile when our 5-year-old son described her occupation as "housewipe." Time now to relax.

Relax? How's to relax? My house-to-hospital pace is exhausting, but worry over my wife's ordeal keeps me from falling asleep. I try counting sheep but instead see an hourglass, trickling out the last week's grains until I turn 40. Of course turning 40, and officially entering middle age, doesn't bother me. Not at all. Nosiree. Can't waste time worrying, anyway, because the late-night quiet is the only uninterrupted time I have to finish the research for this article on stress. Ah yes, stress: Well do I know it.

An Affliction of Affluence

So do millions of others. Stress is as endemic among Twentieth Century industrialized societies as threats from smallpox, bubonic plague, and the saber-toothed tiger were among earlier peoples. Ironically, along with heart disease—of which it is a suspected cause—stress is an affliction of affluence. Indeed, the Laboratory for Clinical Stress Research at Sweden's renowned Caroline Institute estimates that one-third of the working days lost to sickness in industrialized nations are attributable to stress-connected illness.

Because it is caused by the individual's maladaptive response to his or her environment, stress wears limitless disguises. An unkind word from the boss, a social snub, a feeling of being unappreciated or overworked or worthless, stunning defeat or even stunning victory—all these stressors can have consequences as debilitating as actual, tangible threats to one's physical well-being.

Whatever their nature, stressors share one common trait: They stimulate in the body the primordial "fight or flight" response. The instant it receives the stress "alarm," the brain alerts the pituitary gland just beneath it, and through the pituitary the adrenal glands just above each kidney, to secrete hormones to prepare the body for vigorous exertion.

The effect is immediate and dramatic. The pulse quickens. The pupils of the eyes dilate. The ears prick up and hearing improves. The lungs take in more oxygen to fuel the muscles for strenuous work. The blood's ability to clot improves, to protect against excessive bleeding from wounds.

This reaction is ideal to prepare the body to ward off an assailant, jump out of the way of a speeding car, fell a tree, or run the 100-yard dash. Indeed, none of these acts would be possible without the fight-or-flight response. In fact, life itself requires some stress, notes Dr. Hans Selye, director of the Institute of Experimental Medicine and Surgery at the University of Montreal and father of the stress concept. "Stress is the spice of life," says Selye, observing that stress is what keeps your heart beating, your lungs breathing, and your stomach digesting while you sleep. "And complete freedom from stress is death," he adds.

Purposeful stress, then, is salutary. When the fight is over, the race run, the car dodged, or the tree chopped down, the body stops producing its extra "fuel"; hormonal output subsides. When the stressor disappears, body and mind return to the state of equilibrium that the late Walter B. Cannon, the eminent Harvard physiologist, called "homeostasis."

But no one can fight indefinitely, run endlessly, dodge car after car after car, or chop down a forest without rest. Yet in a sense that's what the body tries to do when its fight-or-flight response is inappropriate. There is no one to fight, and nowhere to run, for the pensioner whose meager monthly check buys less and less, for the employe

who detests his job but can't find another, for the slow learner whose teacher treats him as stupid, or for the parents whose child has an incurable disease.

Denied its proper outlet of physical action, such stress (Seyle calls it "distress") seeks—and usually finds—improper expression as physical or emotional illness. Stress is a well-documented cause of anxiety, depression, migraine headaches, and peptic ulcers. Recent research implicates stress as a cause of coronary heart disease—the leading cause of death in America—and stroke. There is evidence, albeit tenuous, that stress can trigger certain cancers. Animal research indicates that stress may even cause periodontal disease. And stress is apparently related to the way you age.

Selye the Exemplar

All these findings owe some debt to the trail-blazing research of Selye, who published his first paper on stress in 1936. Now thousands of research projects on stress are under way throughout the world. They generate some 6,000 scholarly reports a year; Selye's library alone contains more than 80,000 papers on stress.

From his research, Selye has formulated a three-stage explanation of stress that he calls the "general adaptation syndrome" (GAS). First comes the alarm stage, previously described, when the body prepares itself for combat or flight. Next comes the stage of resistance, when the body fights off the stressor. Last comes the stage of exhaustion, when the body can tolerate no more. If the stressor remains undiminished, illness or even death may ensue.

Selye calls the energy that the body uses during GAS "adaptation energy." In his seminal 1956 book, *The Stress of Life*, he says this energy is different from the energy we get from food, but "we still have no precise concept of what this energy might be. . . .

"It is as though, at birth, each individual inherited a certain amount of adaptation energy, the magnitude of which is determined by his genetic background, his parents. He can draw upon this capital thriftily for a long but monotonously uneventful existence, or he can spend it lavishly in the course of a stressful, intense, but perhaps more colorful and exciting life. In any case, there is just so much of it, and he must budget accordingly."

Ulcers in Children

Stress afflicts people of all ages, even preschoolers. Dr. Margaret Prouty, retired former chief of pediatrics at the Jackson Clinic in Madison, Wis., studied stress ulcers in children for more than 30 years. In a 1973 paper she reports on 322 cases, including 3-year-old Dawn, who complained of abdominal pain and headache.

"Her mother had her first child out of wedlock at age 15 but later married the father of the child when he became 18," Dr. Prouty reports. "When she reached 22, she had six children and was abandoned by the father. One night she became depressed, left the children at home, and went to a tavern, where she was arrested on a neighbor's complaint for child abandonment. The children were placed in foster homes, where ulcers developed" in Dawn, her sister, and the mother. The ulcers disappeared in all three after the children were returned to the mother and she made plans to remarry.

School-related stress is the principal cause of ulcers in younger children, Dr. Prouty reports. Children aged 7 to 9 are most susceptible, and the ulcers occur cyclically. Most develop one to two months after school begins. Smaller peaks follow when the second semester begins and just before end-of-year exams.

"These children are concerned not only with performance in class, where they usually excel, but also with interaction with their classmates," Dr. Prouty reports. "Uniformly nonaggressive, many have been threatened with bodily harm from individuals and groups. . . . The majority are perfectionists, have a poor self-image, and find that their classmates, parents, and teachers cannot measure up to their expectations. They have much need of affection and approbation, trying hard to please and be good. They have a high incidence of anxiety and dependence and poor ability to express antagonism. . . . Years of observation have convinced me that one of their chief personality defects is an almost total lack of a sense of humor. Life is indeed real and earnest, and they have no ability to laugh at themselves or at others."

The Toll Among ATCs

Perhaps no occupation carries the day-to-day stress of the air-traffic controllers (ATCs) who direct planes in and out of airports. Eyes fixed on a radar screen, they must maintain intense concentration and constant calm while they direct several planes at once through various stages of airport approach, landing, and taking off. In conversations at a stress seminar, several told of the incredible stress they felt when, during peak traffic hours and bad weather conditions, they work with the knowledge that one slip by them could cost hundreds of lives.

Just how severe the ATCs' stress is became clear during their "sick-out" in 1970 at Chicago's O'Hare Field. Dr. Richard R. Grayson, an internist in St. Charles, Ill., examined 111 ATCs and found that 86 exhibited enough signs of peptic ulcers to merit X rays. This examination showed that 36 had ulcers; 14 had duodenitis (inflammation of the duodenum, or small intestine); 11 had gastritis; and 5 had pylorospasm (spasm of the area between the stomach and the small intestine). The ATCs' ulcer rate of 32.5 per cent was far higher than for any group for which data existed.

"A narrowly averted mid-air collision caused by one of these conscientious, intelligent, punctilious young men has the same effect on him as if he himself had just escaped death by a hair's breadth," Grayson reported. "The 'fight or flight' response that follows is useless because he is trapped at a radar scope, forced to continue issuing cool, concise commands into a microphone. The symptoms that follow, such as anxiety, anorexia [loss of appetite], insomnia, and irritability, plus their spin-off effects of marital discord, interpersonal animosities, and efforts at peer-group support then become stressors in their own right."

The 'Stimulus Addicts'

The ATCs' symptoms prompted Grayson and others to found the American Academy of Air Traffic Control Medicine, which last year became the American Academy of Stress Disorders. Grayson is the academy's president.

One might assume that race-car drivers, sky divers, aerobatic pilots, and others who routinely risk death or disability would be ulcer-prone too. But a study by Bruce C. Ogilvie, Ph.D., professor of clinical psychology at San Jose (Calif.) State University, suggests that these people thrive on stress.

Ogilvie reported in the Physician and Sportsmedicine magazine on his study of 293 "stimulus addicts," including 50 all-pro football players, 47 aerobatic pilots, 48 race drivers, 64 parachutists, 31 fencers, 32 basketball players, and 21 Olympic swimmers. On standard personality tests the group ranked high in intelligence, ambition, autonomy, emotional stability, leadership, "and above all, vitality."

Stimulus addiction, Ogilvie concludes, "implies a need for repeated exposure to situations where the balance between fear, danger, and anxiety remains within the boundaries of personal control. . . . For the stimulus addict, to live a life uncontested is tantamount to only have half-lived."

Pecking Order Disrupted

For most people, however, living a life uncontested might mean living longer, or at least healthier. Consider the implications of an experiment with chickens performed by Dr. W. B. Gross, a veterinarian at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Chicken flocks develop a pecking order in which each bird finds its place. Once the pecking order is established, the flock is peaceful.

Gross repeatedly transferred chickens from one flock to another so that

the pecking orders were constantly being disrupted. This kept the flocks in turmoil because no chicken could maintain a stable position in a pecking order. Result: The experimental chickens developed a much higher incidence of a virus-caused cancer than did a control group. "Social stress acting through the pituitary and adrenal glands appears to be a factor in the development of tumors," Gross reported. "Control of the physiological manifestations of stress may help to control tumors."

Control of the physiological manifestations of stress: There's the rub. How to do it?

No one can breeze through all stressful situations with, in Mark Twain's phrase, "the calm confidence of a Christian holding four aces." Bearing in mind that people's tolerance for stress differs, you might begin by measuring your stress on the accompanying "Social Readjustment Rating Scale" developed by Drs. Thomas H. Holmes and Richard H. Rahe at the University of Washington medical school.

Holmes and Rahe drew up the scale in 1965 after discovering during years of studying tuberculosis patients that TB often followed some stressful changes in the patient's life. The scale is designed to predict susceptibility to illness generally, not just to TB.

With your stress score in hand (or even without trying the Holmes-Rahe test), turn now and face the thicket. For thereinto leadeth the path.

There is, in short, no magic bullet against stress. Because a person's reaction to stress is subjective, it's difficult to formulate objective, universally applicable antistress nostrums. What relieves one person's stress may exacerbate another's.

Stress-Relieving Tips

If you're simply looking for general guidance in relieving stress, you might find the suggestions of Dr. Abraham Lurie, director of social-work services at Long Island Jewish-Hillside Medical Center in Hyde Park, N.Y., as sound as any.

First, says Lurie, "Try to identify the cause of stress." Next: "Put it in perspective. Decide how significant or important it is to you in the total context of your life." Then "try to recall whether you have experienced similar stress-provoking situations," and resolved them, before. Would that solution work now?

"If the problem stems from an external situation," Lurie adds, "try to break it up into its component parts. This will help you isolate the major irritant so that you can work to effect change. This 'singling out' process will also help you place the situation in its true importance so that you can weigh the bad against the good. If this approach fails to ease tension, give serious consideration to a major permanent change in your life—for example, a new job or a new type of work. If satisfactory change cannot be effected, secure professional advice or counseling to help you accept and adjust to the problems you must live with."

Finally, says Lurie: "If the difficulty is internal, some problem within yourself that causes intense concern or conflict, try to determine what has recently happened to intensify these negative feelings. Once you have identified the irritant, you can work on modifying your reactions." If this doesn't work, he concludes, consider getting professional counseling.

How's Your Stress Score?

Some stress is necessary for life, but too much stress is harmful. Drs. Thomas H. Holmes and Richard H. Rahe developed at the University of Washington medical school a scale for measuring stress in terms of 43 "life events." They say a person scoring less than 150 on their scale has only a 37 per cent chance of becoming ill during the next two years. A score of 150 to 300 raises the odds of illness to 51 per cent, and a 300-plus score means you have an 80 per cent chance of becoming seriously ill.

To find your score, check the events applying to you during the past 12 months. Then add up the total values.

Rank	Event	Value	Your Score
1	Death of spouse	100	
2	Divorce	73	
3	Marital separation	65	
4	Jail term	63	
5	Death of close family member	63	
6	Personal injury or illness	53	
7	Marriage	50	
8	Fired from work	47	
9	Marital reconciliation	45	
10	Retirement	45	
11	Change in family member's health	44	
12	Pregnancy	40	
13	Sex difficulties	39	
14	Addition to family	39	
15	Business readjustment	39	
16	Change in financial status	38	
17	Death of close friend	37	
18	Change to different line of work	36	
19	Change in number of marital arguments	35	
20	Mortgage or loan over $10,000	31	
21	Foreclosure of mortgage or loan	30	
22	Change in work responsibilities	29	
23	Son or daughter leaving home	29	
24	Trouble with in-laws	29	
25	Outstanding personal achievement	28	
26	Spouse begins or stops work	26	
27	Starting or finishing school	26	
28	Change in living conditions	25	
29	Revision of personal habits	24	
30	Trouble with boss	23	
31	Change in work hours, conditions	20	
32	Change in residence	20	
33	Change in schools	20	
34	Change in recreational habits	19	
35	Change in church activities	19	
36	Change in social activities	18	
37	Mortgage or loan under $10,000	17	
38	Change in sleeping habits	16	
39	Change in number of family gatherings	15	
40	Change in eating habits	15	
41	Vacation	13	
42	Christmas season	12	
43	Minor violation of the law	11	
Total			

About the Author

Joseph W. Rodgers, a native of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania has been a social science teacher in the Cheltenham (Pa.) High School since 1971. Mr. Rodgers has taught such courses as World Cultures, American History, Economics, Sociology and Psychology. He is a 1971 graduate of Ursinus College with a B.A. in Political Science. Mr. Rodgers received his M.Ed in Social Studies Education as a teaching intern through Temple University.

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